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DOCTRINAL TERMS IN AELFRIC'S HOMILIES

by

NELIUS O. HALVORSON, Ph.D.

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INTRODUCTION

"A Study of the Doctrinal Terms in Aelfric's Homilies" is, as its title suggests, an investigation of the Old English terms that Aelfric employs for the doctrinal conceptions of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. The *Catholic Homilies,* which are more valuable from the viewpoint of doctrine than the *Lives of Saints,* provide the chief materials for this study.

Earlier studies, both in Old English and in other Germanic languages, have treated the influence of Christianity on the native vocabulary.[1] These studies are important in that they provide a background, and, in part, a plan for this study. General material pertaining to the early literary, linguistic, and ecclesiastical history of the Anglo-Saxons and other peoples has already been treated in these earlier studies.

This investigation differs from the earlier ones, already mentioned, in that it is limited to one author. This provides an opportunity for an intensive study of one phase of the vocabulary, and, to some extent, of the personality of Aelfric, who was the most important writer during the century before the Norman Conquest. While this study is chiefly based on the *Catholic Homilies,* as was previously stated, some supplementary material is taken from other works of Aelfric, such as the *Lives of Saints,* the *Treatise on the Old and New Testament,* etc. Since this study is limited to doctrine, terms designating worship and the external organization of the Church have not been included except where such terms appear in doctrinal contexts. The line of division between doctrine, worship, and ecclesiology, can not, perhaps, be sharply drawn, especially if minute considerations are made the basis of division. Since Aelfric's homilies are *catholic,* i.e., intended for the people, they contain the chief doctrines, which, in Aelfric's view, should be known by, and were most important to, the laity.

With the introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons,

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[1] H. S. MacGillivray, *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English,* Halle, 1902. Albert Keiser, *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry,* Urbana, Ill., 1919. In Old High German, Old Norse, and Gothic, similar studies have been made by Raumer, Kahle, and Weinhold, respectively.

native words were largely used to express the new religious conceptions. This applies especially to the basic abstract ideas of Christianity, such as faith (*gelēafa*), sin (*synn*), salvation (*hǣl*), etc. Loan words from the Latin and Greek are often employed for the external organization and concrete objects of the church. Typical are bishop (*bisceop*), deacon (*dīacon*), relics (*reliquias*), etc. A number of hybrids were formed, as *hēah-engel* (arch-angel), *dēofol-dǣd* (evil deed), etc.

Ecclesiastical Latin strongly influenced the vocabulary of Aelfric and that of other Anglo-Saxon Christian writers, since Latin was the traditional language of the Medieval Church. Aelfric's homilies are, moreover, translations, in part at least, from the Latin writings of Augustine, Bede, Gregory, *et al.* Often we find a close rendering of the Latin terms. In describing the ranks of angels, Aelfric uses *þrymsetl, ealdor-scipas, hlāford-scipas,* and *anwealdu,* rendering *throni, dominationes, principatus, potestates.* Another instance of a close rendering of Church Latin is *on ealra worulda woruld on ecnysse,* for the Latin *in secula seculorum, in seculum seculi.* Aelfric at times gives a free rendering of the Latin terms. The conception of the guardian angel is expressed by the native terms *to hyrde* (as a guardian), and by *ealdor,* literally chief. The Latin terms for the abstract notions of Christianity Aelfric generally expresses by native terms, thus associating the new conceptions of Christianity with native words and concepts already familiar to the Anglo-Saxons. The wisdom of this practice is apparent. Predestination (L. *providentia*), a conception new to the Anglo-Saxons, is rendered by the native compound *forescēawung. Wyrd* (fate, destiny) in time lost much of its Pre-Christian fatalistic meaning. Aelfric uses the compound *wyrd-wrīteras,* 'historians'. As an advocate of the doctrine of predestination, Aelfric observes that destiny (*wyrd*) is nothing but false imagination.

For terms designating worship, or the external features of the Church, Latin and Greek loan words generally appear; hence *se uigilia,* vigil; *tempel,* temple. The fact that this study is based on the doctrinal terms means that the percentage of loan words included is relatively small, since the doctrinal concepts are almost invariably expressed by native words.

When Aelfric was writing his homilies in the last decade of the tenth century, he had, as a background, several centuries of tradition—pagan and Christian. When we recall that Christianity was

introduced into England in 597, it is apparent that the Christian tradition was considerably developed by Aelfric's time. A native Old English Christian vocabulary had been gradually developed by Aelfric's predecessors. It is obvious that the influence of the Bible and the Church Fathers was stronger than the earlier pagan influence; the Pre-Christian traditions served, however, as a background, and there are native terms, originally with heathen connotation, that acquired new Christian meanings. Illustrative are *hell* and *hūsl.*

The Anglo-Saxons, by giving new meanings to native terms, and by the formation of compounds, managed, in the main, quite adequately to express the new Christian ideas, only a comparatively small number of loan words being introduced. Thus the linguistic elements which later came to express doctrinal notions were largely present in the native language. The fact that such OE. terms as *hǣl, ārist, forðstœppung,* have been replaced by salvation, resurrection, and procession, of Latin origin, means that OE. doctrinal terms shared the fate of all words, in that from the twelfth century to the present time meanings have changed and new forms have been introduced. The Norman Conquest was partly responsible for the disappearance of many OE. terms. And yet many OE. words that are close to the life and customs of a people have survived in NE. Illustrative are *God, syn(n), hel(l), heofon,* etc. Secular terms of OE. origin are obviously more numerous.

To the people of his time Aelfric rendered valuable services as a homilist and educator. It is to be expected that Aelfric as a member of the clergy should place the major stress on this transitory life as a preparation for eternity. And yet the homilist preached a varied message of industry, moderation, and patience. When we consider his preaching against ignorance, folly, lack of industry, and sloth, it appears that the monastic revival of which Aelfric was a part was not solely religious in the strict sense of the term. He is a worthy representative of the church militant;[2] furthermore, the fact that he employs several terms for folly[3] indicates that his influence was not only religious and ethical, but also calming and

[2] The kingdom of heaven is earned with force and violence (i. 358, 35); a person cannot overcome vices with virtues without violence and compulsion (i. 360, 1-10).

[3] Aelfric uses *dwǣsnys, stuntnys, gewitlēast, ungerād, þœt dysig.* (Cf. Par. 159).

corrective. The synonyms indicate, moreover, that the language was, as a rule, an adequate vehicle for conveying the ideas of the homilist. Whatever his topic, Aelfric aims to convey his message to his readers in lucid, intelligible language. Illustrated in this thesis is Aelfric's attempt to present to his contemporaries the chief doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, as far as such doctrines are incorporated in the *Catholic Homilies.*

In the preparation of this study the writer is indebted to numerous scholars in the field of Old English. The publications of MacGillivray, Keiser, Raumer, Kahle, and Weinhold, previously referred to, deserve special mention. Dietrich's basic work, which together with other material presents the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church according to Aelfric's works, has been suggestive. Dietrich's major stress is, however, theological rather than linguistic and literary. For valuable assistance in the preparation of this study the writer wishes especially to express his thanks to Professor Henning Larsen.

EXPLANATION OF THE CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS

Dan.	=Danish	OHG.	=Old High German
Du.	=Dutch	MHG.	=Middle High German
Fr.	=French	NE.	=New (Modern) English
OFris.	=Old Frisian	OE.	=Old English
Gmc.	=Germanic	ON.	=Old Norse
LGmc.	=Late Germanic	OS.	=Old Saxon
Prim. Gmc.	=Primitive Germanic	BT.	=Bosworth-Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*
EGmc.	=East Germanic		
NGmc.	=North Germanic	NED.	=*A New English Dictionary*
WGmc.	=West Germanic		
Goth.	=Gothic	sing.	=singular
Gr.	=Greek	m.	=masculine
Heb.	=Hebrew	f.	=feminine
Icel.	=Old Icelandic	st.f.	=strong feminine
IE.	=Indo-European	n.	=neuter
L.	=Latin	*	=probable earlier form
Mod. G.	=Modern German		

The *Catholic Homilies,* edited by Thorpe, are referred to by volume, page, and line. The volumes are abbreviated i. (I) and ii. (II). References to Skeat's edition of *Lives of Saints* are by the number of the homily and the number of the line, in conformity to the numbering in his edition. To distinguish this series from the *Catholic Homilies* the word Skeat is given with the reference.

CHAPTER I

THE DEITY

A. The Nature and Attributes of God

1. Aelfric's *Catholic Homilies,* having been written primarily for the unlearned who did not know Latin, do not contain a formal treatment of doctrine after the fashion of books on systematic theology; yet the chief doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church during the tenth century are incorporated in the homilies. There is no term in OE. which corresponds to NE. religion, from the Latin *religio.* Aelfric at times uses *ēawfæstnys*[1] to express the conception of religion (Cf. Par. 151). Christian revelation, a source of theology, appears in OE. as *onwrigennyss.* Cf. *onwrēon,* to disclose. Christ revealed to St. John, in that exile, the revelation of things to come: (*geswutelode him on ðam wræcsiðe þa toweardan onwrigennysse*).[2] The period of revelation, according to Aelfric, is the time of Moses and the prophets, i. 312, ii. 284, etc. Dispensation, the divine arrangement of the affairs of the world, is expressed by *fadung*: *hit* [that creatures when created might have their own nature] *þære godcundlican fadunge gelicode,* i. 274, 35; *þæt is gedon be Godes fadunge,* i. 518, 31. The verb *gefadian* (NE. fade) also appears: *þurh ðone* [the Son] *se Fæder gesceop ealle ðing and gefadode,* i. 278, 19.

2. Several passages indicate the nature of God[3] according to His

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[1] Throughout this study the long vowels of OE. words have been marked, except in page and line citations from Thorpe's edition of the *Catholic Homilies*; since Thorpe's accentuation is not consistent with the usual method of marking vowel lengths, it does not appear necessary or advisable to perpetuate his marking. Henry Sweet in his preface to *Selected Homilies of Ælfric,* Oxford, 1901, characterizes Thorpe's accentuation as "erroneous."

[2] B. Thorpe, editor, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* London, 1844, Vol. I, p. 60, l. 1. Subsequent references to the *Catholic Homilies* are abbreviated as i. and ii., corresponding to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

[3] OE. *god,* from a Gmc. base **guda—,* is of uncertain origin; the word God is found in all the Gmc. languages but is not traced beyond Gmc. sources. The early history of the term goes back to pagan times. For literature see Falk-Torp, *Norwegisch—Dänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* Heidelberg, 1910. F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache,* Strassburg, 1894. A. Keiser, *The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry,* Urbana, Ill., 1919, p. 62. Keiser gives also the etymology of other doctrinal terms.

chief attributes. The clearest and most extended account is found, however, in the homily *De Fide Catholica* (i. pp. 274-294). Since Aelfric was writing for the edification of the people, we should hardly expect to find a formal and systematic division of doctrinal topics. In presenting Christian doctrine Aelfric begins with the assumption of God, and then, by presenting the chief divine attributes, shows what manner of God He is assumed to be. Thus the homilist does not advance separate arguments for the existence of God and the nature of God. The Deity is identified with the highest and first nature (*ðam hehstan and ðam fyrmestan gecynde, ðæt is, God,* i. 262, 13-14. Like Augustine, his source, Aelfric regards the complete understanding of the nature of God as beyond the comprehension of any creature, including mortal man and angels (i. 10, 2-4; 286, 8-10).

3. The spiritual character of God is expressed by *gāst.* The word is found with substantially the same meaning in the WGmc. languages.[4] Each of the three persons of the Trinity is characterized as *gast* and *halig,* i. 282, 30-33, etc. The life and personality of the Deity appear in: *Godes gesihðe,* i. 244, 33; *ðæs Fæder stemn,* ii. 14, 35; *Godes andweardnys, and his miht, and his neosung,* i. 288, 2-3; etc.

4. Divine infinity, i.e., the conception that God is without beginning and end, appears in: *seðe* [God] *næfre ne ongann ne anginn næfde; ac he sylf is angin,* i. 274, 31-33; *he is ana buton angin and ende,* ii. 236, 12-13. This unique character, as compared with the status of all creatures, which owe their existence to God, ii. 236, is expressed by *āna,* alone.

5. The conception of God's holiness, as an absolute and transitive attribute, is expressed by *hālig, hālignys,* and *gehālgian.* The following are typical of numerous occurrences: *se Halga Gast,* i. 280, 25; *þa Halgan Ðrynnysse,* i. 134, 4; *to halignysse,* i. 324, 28; *he* [God] *us ealle gebletsað and gehalgað,* i. 262, 27; etc.

6. The eternity of God is often referred to by Aelfric and is expressed by *ēcnyss,* and *ēce.* Representative are: *se Eca God, Hælend Crist,* i. 422, 6; *efen-ece,* i. 280, 15; *on ecnysse,* i. 28, 23; etc.

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[4] OE. *gāst, gēst,* OFris. *gâst,* OS. *gêst,* Du. *geest,* OHG., MHG., Mod. G. *geist*; Prim. Gmc. **gaistoz.* Of uncertain origin, but apparently related to ON. *geisa,* to rage, and to Goth. *usgaisjan,* to terrify; outside of Gmc. the derivatives seem to indicate a primary meaning 'to wound, tear, pull to pieces.' *NED. s.v. ghost.*

The forms *ā, āā, āfre,* and *buton ende* also help to express the eternity of God: *a buton ende on ecnysse,* i. 192, 2; *aa on ecnysse,* i. 294, 9; *æfre he* [God] *bið ðurhwunigende,* i. 276, 17; *Æfre wæs se Fæder,* i. 280, 31. Highly alliterative expressions are also found, especially in the second series of the *Catholic Homilies*: *on ealra worulda woruld on ecnysse,* i. 274, 16; etc.

7. Immensity as a relative attribute of God means that the divine nature is not subject to limitations of space (*immensus*). God is without measure (*buton gemete*), because he is everywhere, i. 286, 11. The spirit of God filleth all the circumference of the earth (*gefylð ealne ymbhwyrft middangeardes,* i. 280, 11-12).

8. God's omnipresence is expressed by the adverb *āghwær, āghwar,* and the present tense of *bēon*: *he* [God] *is æghwær,* i. 286, 11; *æghwar is andweard,* i. 262, 8; etc. God is in every place (*on ælcere stowe*), i. 348, 14. To denote the presence of God *nēawist, nēosung,* and *andweardnys* are used: *mid his andwerdnysse,* i. 348, 15; *heora Scyppendes neawiste,* i. 346, 18; *ðurh Godes neosunge* (visitation), i. 58, 2; *Godes andweardnys, and his miht, and his neosung æghwær,* i. 288, 1-3; etc.

9. Divine omniscience is occasionally stressed: *he hæfð ingehyd ælces gereordes,* i. 280, 13; *Him* [God] *is nan ðing digle ne uncuð,* i. 288, 5. Prescience is expressed by *forescēawung.* Verb and adverbial forms also occur; the relationship between prescience and destiny (*wyrd, gewyrd*) Aelfric indicates in: *gewyrd nis nan ðing buton leas wena,* i. 114, 13. There is no destiny except the Almighty Creator, who provides (*foresceawað*) for every man life by his merits (*be his geearnungum*), i. 110, 12-13. It did not happen to the apostle Thomas unprovidentially (*unforsceawodlice*) that he doubted Christ's resurrection, but by the providence of God (*ðurh Godes forsceawunge*), i. 234, 19-22. God's foreknowledge includes predestination. Aelfric uses *forestihtian*; God predestined (*forestihte*) no one to evil, i. 112, 29-30. He compels no one to sin, but he knows, nevertheless, before hand (*he wat swa-ðeah on ær*) who will sin through their own will, i. 114, 2-3.

10. Omnipotence as a divine attribute is expressed by the adjective *ælmihtig.* Each person of the Trinity is one almighty God, i, 276, 27-30. The following epithets are applied to God, the Father: *Ælmihtig Drihten,* i, 90, 25; *se Ælmihtiga,* i. 92, 8; *se Ælmightiga Cyning,* ii. 6, 20; etc. Applied to Christ: *God Ælmihtigne, seðe is*

ægðer ge God ge mann, an Crist, ii. 8, 1-2; *to ðan Ælmihtigan Hlaforde,* ii. 408, 25; *Ælmihtiga Lareow Crist,* ii. 396, 12; etc. Applied to the Holy Spirit: *he is Ælmihtig Wyrhta,* i. 322, 31; ii. 204, 11. Divine power is also expressed by the simplex *miht*: God holds *mid his mihte heofonas and eorðan,* i. 8, 33; *ðurh Godes mihte,* ii. 342, 27; etc. This attribute is frequently stressed and repeated throughout the *Catholic Homilies.*

11. Another divine attribute is truth, expressed by the noun *sōðfæstnys* and the adjective *sōð.* Christ is personified as Truth, the attribute being used in place of the person; hence *seo sylfe Soðfæstnys,* i. 52, 25; [*Crist*] *tæhte rihtwisnysse and soðfæstnysse,* i. 26, 20. Epithets are often applied to God: *Crist, se soða hlaf,* i. 34, 15; *Soðne God of Soðum Gode,* ii. 596, 26; *God is se soða læce* [Aelfric characterizes God as the good Leech who cures the sins of his chosen], i. 472, 12; etc.

12. Mercy and goodness, transitive attributes of God, are expressed by several terms. Each of the three persons of the Trinity is true love (*sōð lufu*), and they are all together "one God and one true Love" (*an God and an soð lufu*), i. 282, 27-30. The Lord redeemed mankind *for ure lufe,* i. 44, 3. Divine mercy, with reference to the redemption of mankind, is expressed by *mildheortnys*: *seo miccle mildheortnys ures Drihtnes,* i. 112, 19; *Godes mildheortnysse,* ii. 82, 29; etc. The adverbial form is less frequent: *he* [*Crist*] *hi mildheortlice fedde,* i. 184, 18. *Miltsung,* compared in meaning with *mildheortnys,* appears to be less innate and personal. It denotes divine mercy to mankind: *Cristes miltsunge . . . abæd,* ii. 78, 23; *forgif hire ðine miltsunge,* ii. 112, 18; etc. Goodness as a divine attribute appears in: *Ealdor and Scyppend ealra godnyssa* [divine goodness as an absolute and transitive attribute], i. 32, 10; *ðurh his godnysse,* i. 184, 18; etc. *Cyst* (Cf. *cēosan,* to choose) is occasionally used in the sense of divine goodness; at times it denotes divine liberality and munificence: *ðurh Godes micclan cyste,* ii. 468, 14; *for his mycclan cyste,* Skeat 11, 334. *Welwyllendnys,* benevolence, occasionally appears: *on ðinre welwyllendnysse,* ii. 598, 17. Several epithets denote the mercy and goodness of God the Father and of Christ: *se cystiga Wealdend,* i. 346, 28; *ðæra goda Syllend,* ii. 328, 1; *ðam welwillendum Gode,* ii. 356, 17; *se mildheorta God,* ii. 126, 4; *se miltsienda Drihten,* i. 350, 7; etc.

13. Divine assistance and help are expressed by *fultum* and

fylst.[5] The following represent a somewhat limited number of occurrences: *þurh Godes fultum,* i. 148, 17; *mid Godes fylste,* i. 166, 6; *þurh Godes fylst,* Skeat 16, 378.

14. The conception of God as the Protector and the Preserver is expressed by *gescyldnys.* Thus: *þurh Godes gescyldnysse,* i. 58, 26; *mid gescyldnysse soðes Drihtnes,* ii. 212, 22; etc. *Gescildan,* defend, also appears: *ure Hælend þe wið ealle fynd gescylde,* Skeat 23, 837.

15. Justice and righteousness are expressed by *rihtwīsnys.* As an attribute of God: *for his micclan rihtwisnysse,* i. 110, 35; [*Crist*] *tæhte rihtwisnysse,* i. 26, 20; etc. In the sense of justice: *Iustitia ðæt is rihtwisnys,* Skeat 1, 159; *Cristes rihtwisnys,* i. 216, 5; etc.

16. Majesty, greatness, and glory as divine attributes are expressed by *mægenþrymm.*[6] The forms *þrymm* and *mægenðrymnys* also appear. This term, which in OE. is used almost exclusively in reference to the Deity,[7] is applied to the triune God: *efen-ece mægenðrymnys,* i. 276, 27; *þurh his mægenðrymmes andweardnysse,* i. 262, 9; *mid micclum ðrymme,* i. 300, 2; etc. Divine greatness is occasionally expressed by *mārð.*[8] In the homily for the day of Pentecost Aelfric writes: *Fyrene tungan hi hæfdon, ðaða hi mid lufe Godes mærða bodedon,* i. 320, 23. The term is also used to denote the greatness of Biblical personages and church festivals, i. 36, 18; 46, 20.

17. God's holiness implies that He is an enemy of sin (See Chapter III). Divine justice, a form of holiness, at times appears as punitive justice. Vengeance, i.e., retributive punishment for sin, Aelfric expresses by *wracu.* Thus we find: *þa gesceafta . . . sind to wrace gesceapene yfeldædum,* i. 102, 3; *ðurh Drihtnes wrace,* ii, 326, 8; *seo godcundlice wracu,* i. 86, 1; etc. A number of passages refer to "the vengeance to come," namely, at doom: *seo towearde wracu,* i. 408, 12; *on ðære endenextan wrace,* i. 410, 15; etc. For God's wrath Aelfric uses *grama*: *ða becom Godes grama ofer hi*

[5] OE. *Fultum, fultēam* (OHG. *follaziohan,* to assist), from **fulltēon* to assist, from *full* adv.+*tēon* to draw. Cf. Goth. *fullafahjan,* to worship, serve, minister to the needs of. *fylst, e*; f.; equivalent to OFris. *fulliste, folliste, folste,* aid; OS. *fulleste*: OHG. *folleist.* Cf. OE. *fylstan, fullæstan,* OHG. *folleisten,* to help. Cf. L. *auxilium, subsidium. BT. NED. s.v. fultum.*

[6] Cf. *mægen,* might, strength; and *ðrymm,* power, glory, majesty. *BT.*

[7] *BT.*

[8] Goth. *mēriþa,* fame, report; OS. *māriða*; OHG. *mārida,* fame. Cf. L. *claritudo. BT.*

ealle, i. 10, 29; *mid swurde ðæs heofonlican graman,* ii. 124, 9; *se upplica grama,* ii. 538, 28; etc.

B. The Trinity

18. The nature of the Trinity[9] is described in several places in the *Catholic Homilies,*[10] but it is given the fullest treatment in *De Fide Catholica* (i. 276 ff.). It is hardly necessary to offer an exhaustive exposition of Aelfric's views relative to the nature of the Trinity. The following excerpts are suggestive: *on Ðrynnysse utodæledlic,* i. 276, 23; *na ðry Godas, ac hi ealle ðry an Ælmihtig God,* i. 282, 24; etc. The Godhead, frequently referred to in connection with the Trinity, is expressed by *Godcundnys.* Thus we find as typical: *an on Godcundnysse,* ii. 42, 26; *ðurh gecynde anre Godcundnysse,* i. 42, 28; etc. The unity of the Trinity is expressed by *ānnyss*: *on annysse anre godcundnysse,* i. 288, 35; *on soðe Annysse,* i. 134, 4; etc. That Aelfric supported the orthodox conception of the Trinity appears from a statement in *The Canons,* where he names the four synods that had been held "for the true faith, against the heretics."[11] For the invocation of the Trinity, Aelfric uses *tō-clypung*: *þære Halgan Ðrynnysse to-clypung,* ii. 48, 15; ii. 602, 3; etc. The NE. term was adopted from L. *invocationem,* during the Middle English Period.

1. *God the Father*

19. Several terms applied to God have already been considered in their relation to the divine nature and attributes. Aelfric's conception of God and of the persons of the Godhead is, of course, that of his church and his period; hence, in presenting the doctrinal terms, we deem it hardly necessary to present an extended exposition of Aelfric's views. God is called the Father of Christ and of mankind, and the Creator of the world: *"Ðes is min leofa Sunu, ðe me wel licað,"* ii. 42, 13; *Se Sunu is acenned of ðam Fæder,* i. 280, 35; etc.; *se heofenlica Fæder,* ii. 528, 20; *ure Fæder,* i. 254, 6;

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[9] *ðrynnys* (L. *trinitatem,* a triad, trio, in Christian use from Tertullian, 195-200). L. *trinitas* in Christian use rendered Greek Τρίας, used in this sense by Theophilus of Antioch, fl. 180, and by Clement of Alexandria, ca. 150-212. After Tertullian L. *trinitas* is used by Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, *et al. NED.*

[10] Aelfric wrote a treatise on the Trinity, addressed to "Wulfgeat æt Ylmandune." Humphrey Wanley, *Antiquae Literaturae Septentrionalis Liber Alter. . . .* Oxford, 1705, Vol. II, p. 59.

[11] Benjamin Thorpe, editor, "The Canons of Aelfric," *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,* London, 1840, p. 447.

Godes bearn, i. 274, 14, etc.; *se Ælmihtiga Scyppend,* i. 112, 25; *se ungesewenlica Scyppend,* i. 610, 26; etc. To suggest God as a source of all things, that is of creation, Aelfric uses *ordfruma* (Cf. L. *auctor*). Thus: *ordfruma and ende,* i. 8, 30; *Ordfruma ælcere gife,* ii. 526, 7; etc.

2. *Christ, or God the Son*

20. Reference was made, in the treatment of God the Father, to Christ as the Son of God. In general the same terms and attributes are ascribed to Christ as to God the Father. Furthermore, it should be noted that the three persons of the Deity are not always clearly distinguished. There are, however, a number of terms which, because of the person and work of Christ, apply with special meaning to Him.[12] Owing to the fact that an analysis of the attributes of Christ will of necessity be included in the treatment of His person and work, which will be treated in a subsequent chapter, a mere list of terms applied to Christ will be given here. Christ as the Redeemer of mankind: *ure Hælend Crist,*[13] i. 142, 33; *Alysend ealles middaneardes,* i. 136, 16; *ure sawla Alysend,* ii. 8, 21; *þinne Halwendan,* i. 136, 21; etc. Christ as Lord: *Drihten*[14] *Crist,* i. 76, 24; *Se Wealdenda Drihten,* i. 306, 33; *Metoda Drihten,* ii. 252, 35; *to ðan Ælmihtigan Hlaforde,* ii. 408, 25; *þam heofenlican Hlaforde,* ii. 552, i, 8; etc. The following expressions indicate the divine nature of Christ: *þæs Lifigendan Godes Sunu,* ii. 18, 20; *his ancennedan Æðeling,* ii. 6, 21; *þone godcundan Cyning,* ii. 36. 32; etc. Christ's relationship to mankind: *mannes Bearn,* ii. 562, 26; *mancynna Ealdor,* i. 588, 19; *Se mennisca Crist,* ii. 550, 7; *ðeoda Wealdend,* ii. 254, 12; *þone geðrowodan Crist,* ii. 292, 13; *þone anhangenan Crist,* ii. 240, 9; *se uplica Dema,* ii. 80, 35; *þone Deman*

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[12] *Crīst,* equivalent to OS. and OHG. *crist, krist,* from L. *Chrīst-us,* adopted from Gr. χρῑστός, substantive use of χρῑστός anointed, a translation of the Heb. *mashiaχ,* Messiah, 'anointed.' *NED.*

[13] For the name Jesus (Gr. Ἰησοῦς; L. *Iēsūs*) OE. regularly uses *hælend,* 'saviour'; equivalent to OS. *hēljand, hēleand, hēland,* OHG., MHG. *heilant,* Mod. G. *heiland,* all derived from Prim. Gmc. **hailjan* to heal, save. *NED.*

[14] *drihten, es;* m. ruler, lord. OS. *drohtin;* OFris. *drochten,* Lord, only used for God and Christ; OHG. *truhtīn,* dominus; Icel. *drottinn* princeps. OE. *drihten* is formed, with suffix—*ina-z,* from *dryht,* a multitude, army, people. OE. *dryht* is equivalent to OS. *druht,* OHG., MHG. *truht,* ON. *drōtt.* Cf. Goth. *ga-drauhts,* m. soldier; from *drēogan* to do, perform work, do military service, Goth. *driugan, from* Prim. Gmc. **dreug- *draug- *drug-.* Aelfric uses *drihten* of Christ and of God the Father. See *BT.*; *NED.*; Falk und Torp, *op. cit., s.v. drot.*

toweardne, ii. 536, 12 *ure Mundbora* and *Dema,* i. 350, 25; *Scyppend,* i. 108, 13; *Ordfruma ælcere gife,* ii. 526, 7; etc.

3. The Holy Spirit

21. To express the procession or emanation of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, Aelfric employs noun and verb forms: *forðstæppan* and *forðstæppung.* Hence: *he is forðstæppende, þæt is ofgangende, of ðam Fæder and of ðam Suna,* i. 280, 14; *to þam Halgan Gaste*[15] *seo forðstæppung,* i. 500, 8; etc.

22. Several terms denote the work and activities of the Holy Spirit. Thus we find: *þurh ðone* [*se Halga Gast*] *sind ealle ðing geliffæste and gehealdene,* i. 280, 10; *He is gehaten on Greciscum gereorde, Paraclitus, þæt is, Frofor-gast,* i. 322, 21 (Cf. i. 550, 31); *Gast þære soðfæstnysse,* i. 280, 19; *Ælmihtig Wyrhta,* i. 322, 31; *ðurh wissunge þæs Halgan Gastes,* ii. 482, 1; *þurh orðunge þæs Halgan Gastes,* ii. 524, 12; etc. The forgiveness of sins is effected through the Holy Spirit (i. 322, 24). Other gifts to mankind are the sevenfold gifts,[16] which Aelfric mentions in several places. The fact that in his introduction to the *Treastise on the Old and New Testament* he alludes to a former writing of his on the same subject[17] may possibly mean that Aelfric is the author of a homily *On the Sevenfold Gifts of the Holy Ghost,* formerly attributed to Wulfstan.[18] These gifts, also mentioned in the *Catholic Homilies,* are: *wisdom and andgit, ræd and strengð, ingehyd and arfæstnys; Godes ege is seo seofoðe,* ii. 398, 21-25; 292, 22-24. God's chosen earn eternal life through these seven virtues (*mægenu*), ii. 292, 24.

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[15] The Latin Vulgate uses *Spiritus sanctus* (John I, 33); Greek, πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Cf. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata,* London, 1829; Westcott & Hort, editors, *The New Testament in the Original Greek,* New York, 1922.

[16] That this doctrine is still prevalent is apparent from the statements of Henry Edward Manning, at one time the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Quoting Isaiah XI, 1-3, where the seven gifts are named, Cardinal Manning devotes a chapter to "The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit," *The Internal Mission of the Holy Ghost,* New York, 1875, pp. 133-155.

[17] *Seofonfealde gifa he gifð mancynne git, be þam ic awrat ær on sumum oðrum gewrite on Engliscre spræce,* Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa,* Goettingen, 1872, Vol. I, p. 2. Another reference, not by Aelfric, appears in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,* London, 1840. Under the title "Of Ecclesiastical Compensations, or 'Bots'," the opening lines refer to the gifts of the Holy Spirit as being sevenfold. This reference indicates that this was a part of the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church at that time.

[18] John S. Westlake, "From Alfred to the Conquest," *Cambridge History of English Literature,* Vol. I, pp. 119-164.

23. Several terms indicate a subjective or personal relationship between God's chosen and the Holy Spirit. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit is expressed by *fætels, tempel,* and *onwunung*: *we beoþ tempel and fætels þæs Halgan Gastes,* i. 210, 35 (Cf. i. 212, 4: The wicked man is *deofles tempel*) ; *wunað se Halga Gast on us . . . þæs Halgan Gastes onwununge,* ii. 580, 28-33 ; etc.

CHAPTER II

THE WORLD, ANGELS, AND DEVILS

A. The World

24. The ancient Germanic peoples had more or less definite notions of cosmogony. This appears from the rather full list of cognate terms for expressions of time and space.[1] When Aelfric was writing the homilies in the last decade of the tenth century, he had back of him the heritage of several centuries of tradition, partly heathen and partly Christian. The terms in the homilies for various conceptions of the universe are, accordingly, those of the Latin Vulgate and the Church Fathers,—doctrinal expressions that have, as a background, the popular conceptions of Aelfric's time. Since Aelfric was writing for the uneducated, and well knew their needs and the extent of their mental ability and learning, we should not expect to find a highly complex and involved theory regarding the nature of the world and the universe. The conception of the material universe as an ordered system was a development after Aelfric's time; terms with this meaning were introduced about the year 1200.[2] Yet owing to his practice of contrasting the present with the future, the temporal with the eternal, terms for time and space are important factors in Christian doctrine.

25. In the Latin Vulgate the New Testament term for the world, or universe in a physical sense, is *mundus,* which in turn is a rendering of the Greek κόσμος. Cf. Matt. XXV, 34, etc. This conception of the physical universe is frequently rendered in OE. by *middangeard,* (also *middaneard*), *es,* m. The primary meaning is the middle dwelling, the abode of men, the world in a physical sense. *Middangeard* is a mythological word and is common to all the ancient Germanic languages.[3] The Icelandic Poetic Edda has preserved the meaning of the word in its relation to Germanic mythol-

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[1] For literature on the subject see "Time and World," in J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology,* 4th Edition, translated by James S. Stallybrass, London, 1883, Vol. II. pp. 790-825.

[2] *NED.,* world.

[3] Wulfila renders the Greek οἰκουμένη, the civilized world, the whole habitable globe, with Goth. *midjun-gards.* Other cognates are: OHG. *mittan-, mittingart,* OS. *middel-gard,* Icel. *mið-garðr. BT.*

ogy. "The earth (*miðgarð*), the abode of men, is seated in the middle of the universe, bordered by mountains and surrounded by the great sea (*ūthaf*); on the other side of this sea is the *Ūtgarð* (out-yard), the abode of giants; the *miðgarð* is defended by the 'yard' or 'burgh' *As-garð* (the burgh of the gods), lying in the middle (the heaven being conceived as rising above the earth)."[4] The earth and mankind are thus conceived as a stronghold which is besieged by the powers of evil from without, and defended by the gods from above and within. The OE. homilies often employ *middangeard* for the earth. This usage appears also in Aelfric's homilies. The following examples denote the physical world: *to healfan dæle middaneardes*, i. 68, 34; *fram anginne middangeardes*, i. 264, 5; *þa toweardan frecednyssa þises losigendlican middaneardes*, ii. 538, 7; *for middangeardes toworpennysse*, i. 612, 28; *ealles middangeardes ymbhwyrft*, i. 396, 12; *ær middangeardes gesetnysse*, i. 114, 32; cf. the related expressions in the Vulgate and the LXX: *a constitutione mundi*; ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου (Matt. XXV, 34).

26. *Middangeard* often applies to living creatures on earth, and more specifically to people: *fet ealne middangeard*, i. 184, 27; *middangeard him ætbræd* (took from him the world, i.e. Christ from Satan), i. 196, 5; *to alysednysse middangeardes* (for the redemption of the world), i. 200, 20; *eal middangeard* (all the world, i.e. the human race), ii. 58, 31.

27. In a worldly or mundane sense, as opposed to the spiritual or heavenly, appears the adjective *middaneardlic*, e.g., *middaneardlic gedwyld* (worldly error), ii. 90, 13; *on middaneardlicum lustum* (in worldly lusts), ii. 368, 3; *ealle middaneardlice ðing* (all worldly things), ii. 130, 1; etc. The adjective form *woruldlic*, from *woruld*, is similarly used: *on ðam feorðan dæge woruldlicere gesceapenysse* (here used in a mundane sense), i. 100, 13; *ealle woruldlice ymbhydignysse* (all worldly care, i.e. concern for things of this world in contrast with those of the next world), i. 346, 19; *woruldlice ðeawas* (worldly, i.e. sinful, practices), i. 534, 34; etc.

28. *Middangeard*, when applied to people, often conveys the notion of sin. Aelfric applies the term 'world' (*middangeard*) to people who love this perishable world (*þisne ateorigendlican middangeard*) more than the everlasting life. i. 514, 30-33. Other examples are: *ða yfelnyssa ðe folgiað þam ealdigendan middangearde*

[4] Gudbrand Vigfusson (Cleasby's), *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1874.

(here regarded as a sinful or decadent world), i. 608, 11; *middaneardes synna,* ii. 38, 29; etc. As a period of human existence *middangeard* is used in a few instances. The more common word for this sense is *woruld.* The world, or present existence of mankind, is contrasted with eternity: *on þisum middangearde,* i. 586, 2; *þises middaneardes stylnysse,* ii. 392, 31. Cf. i. 514, 30-33, etc.

29. The NE, term earth, i.e. the terrestrial globe, is derived from the OE. *eorðe, an*; also *eorþ,*[5] *e*; f. This usage often appears in the homilies and in Aelfric's *Genesis.*[6] (Cf. I. 1, 2, 17, 26, etc.). In the *Catholic Homilies, eorðe* appears in expressions like the following: *on eorðan sib mannum,* i. 30, 26; 38, 2; *on eorðan bið þeoda ofðryccednyss* (quoted from the gospel of St. Luke), i. 608, 7; *on eorðan,* i. 608, 25; etc. Cf. the compound *eorðstyrung* (earthquake), i. 608, 26, 28.

30. In contrast with the spiritual or heavenly the adjective *eorðlic* is often used in a worldly or mundane sense. The following expressions illustrate this usage : *ða eorðlican sceattas,* i. 584, 4; *seo eorðlice arleasnyss,* i. 48, 23; *mid eorðlicum welum gewelgod,* i. 414, 4; *be eorðlicum mettum,* ii. 462, 19; *of ðam eorðlicum smeagungum,* i.e. of the things of this world, in contrast with spiritual pursuits (*þa gastlican tylunga*), ii. 552, 10, 11; *to eorðlicere lustfullunge,* ii. 540, 12; *se eorðlica man* [in a mundane sense], i. 12, 26; *to eorðlicum ðingum* (to earthly things, in contrast with 'things on high': *to ðam upplican ðingum*), ii. 442, 8, 10; etc.

31. Owing to Aelfric's frequent contrast between the worldly and the heavenly, the present and the future, the temporal and the eternal, a rather large number of words with this connotation appear. This is discussed further under "The Future State."

32. From the standpoint of cosmogony in its relation to mankind the most important term is unquestionably the NE. term 'world' from OE. *woruld,* also *weoruld, e*; f. With reference to the conception of time and space, two expressions in the New Testament are important. The Vulgate translates Κόσμος by *mundus,* and αἰών, a space or period of time, by *saeculum.* Cf. Luke I, 55; Matt. XXV, 34; etc. The Greek αἰών (L. *aevum*) corresponds most closely to the primary meaning of the OE. term *woruld,* which

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[5] OS. *erða,* f.; OFris. *irthe, erthe, erde,* f.; Du. *aarde,* f.; OHG. *erda, erada,* f.; Goth. *airþa,* f.; Dan. *jord,* m. f.; Icel. *jorð,* f.; earth, land, estate, Cf. L. *tellus. BT.*

[6] Grein-Wülker, *op. cit.,* pp. 25-27.

etymologically denotes the 'age' or 'life of man.'[7] A glance at the definitions of world in the various cognate languages reveals, especially in the case of OHG., varied and extended meanings of the term . In OE., also, as in NE., the original etymological meaning, "the age of man," has been greatly extended.

33. The earth as opposed to heaven, the material world, is rendered by *woruld.* In this sense the OE. word corresponds, with respect to meaning, to the Greek κόσμος and the Latin *mundus.* The following expressions in Aelfric illustrate this meaning of *woruld*: *ðas ateorigendlican woruld,* ii. 214, 29; (Cf. *þises ateorigendlican middaneardes,* ii. 266, 7); *se mona hæfð þissere worulde gelicnysse,* ii. 214, 31-32; *þeos woruld, ibid.,* 33; *ðurh Cristes to-cyme to ðyssere worulde,* ii. 216, 3-4; etc. The more common expression for the physical world is *middangeard,* but in several connotations the two words became synonymous. The primary meaning of *middangeard* and *woruld* are however, as above indicated, entirely different.

34. As in NE., the OE. term *woruld,* literally 'the age of man,' denotes a state or period of human existence. *This world, the world* often mean this present life, or the earthly state of human existence. This sense, dating from the Anglo-Saxon period, appears in Aelfric. Since Aelfric, according to his Preface (i. 2, 28), believes that the end of the world is at hand, it is to be expected that the *Catholic Homilies* would contain many references to the world to come and the future state. We find, accordingly, many passages about the present and the future state of mankind, and a contrast between the two, that is, between the present world and the next world, between the temporal and the eternal. The following expressions refer to *woruld* as a state or period of existence: *se Ælmihtiga God behet gefyrn worulde* ('in the time of old') *Abrahame,* ii. 12, 23; *Fæder þære toweardan worulde,* ii. 16, 7-8; *fram ðyssere geswincfullan worulde* ('this world of toil' is here contrasted with 'the eternal country': *ðam ecan eðele*), ii. 200, 15-16; *on oðre worulde,* ii. 358, 15-16; *þeos woruld* (this world compared with the eternal world), i. 154, 16; *þas andweardan woruld,* i. 182, 25-26; *ðas ateorigendlican woruld* (the perishable world: used to denote the state of existence

[7] OE. *woruld,* a Germanic formation, is developed from **wer-* man, + **alð-* age, i.e. 'the age of man.' Cognates are OS. *werold, world,* man, lifetime; OFris. *warld, wrald*; OHG. *weralt, mundus, orbis, terra, saeculum, aevum*; ON. *veröld*; Mod. G. *welt*; Swed. *verld*; Dan. *verden.* Cf. *BT.* and *NED.*

of all men), ii. 214, 29; *on ende þisre worulde,* i. 224, 35; *He gewat ða of worulde to wælhreawum cwic-suslum,* ii. 312, 25; *gewat from woruldlicum ricum,* ii. 508, 9; *we endemenn ðyssere worulde,* i. 476, 18; etc. The frequent recurrence of the demonstrative pronoun *þēs,* this, implies a comparison with the next, or future, world. The adjectives *andweard* and *tōweard* have the same effect.

35. Since Aelfric used Latin sources for his homilies, passages frequently represent a close rendering of the Latin original. This tendency is apparent in phrases translating ecclesiastical Latin, *in secula seculorum, in seculum seculi,* which in NE. is equivalent to 'for ever and ever, for all time, through eternity,' and which Aelfric renders by *on ealra worulda woruld on ecnysse,* i. 274, 16; *on ealra worulda woruld,* ii. 574, 18; etc. This usage, especially common at the close of the homilies, is treated under "Eternity as an attribute of God" (Par. 6). The above expressions illustrate *woruld* as equivalent in meaning to forever. Cf. i. 76, 8: *geond ungeendode worulde,* etc.

36. Somewhat related to the idea of *woruld* as a state or period of existence is the conception of *woruld* as an age. The corresponding Latin word, with respect to meaning, is *saeculum, seculum,* an age, an indefinitely long period. Cf. Fr. *siècle.* Aelfric quoting St. Paul (I Cor. X, 11) writes: *"We sind ða ðe worulda geendunga on becomon,"* ii. 372, 10. "The ending of worlds" means the end of an age, or long period of time. Similarly ii. 280, 13: *God ær ealle worulda* (God before all worlds, i.e. all ages), etc.

37. Aelfric in several instances refers to the various "ages of the world," each of which represents a period or age of human history, which is characterized by certain conditions, or indicated by the character of the people living in it. The six ages are listed in the homily for the second Sunday after Epiphany. *Seo forme yld wæs fram Adame oð Noe. Seo oðer yld wæs fram Noe oð Abraham. Seo þridde yld wæs from Abrahame oð Dauid. Seo feorðe fram Dauide oðþæt Nabochodonosor hergode on Iudeiscre leode, and hi hæftlingas to Babilone gelædde. Seo fifte yld wæs from Babiloniscre heregunge oð Cristes acennednysse æfter ðære menniscnysse. Seo sixte yld stent nu fram Cristes acennednysse, mid ungewisre geendunge astreht oð Antecristes to-cyme,* ii. 58, 2-10. Referring to the offering of the paschal lamb in the Old Testament in connection with Christ's passion, which the former betokened, Aelfric continues: *Þæt lamb wæs geoffrod on æfnunge, and ure Hælend*

ðrowade on þære sixtan ylde þyssere worulde; seo yld is geteald to æfnunge þises ateorigendlican middaneardes, ii. 206, 4-7. This has additional interest in that *woruld* and *middaneard,* though both are rendered in NE. by 'world,' appear to preserve their primary meanings in OE. In his *Treatise on the New Testament* Aelfric lists a seventh and an eighth age of the world,[8] the two being a more detailed description of the sixth age, as given in the *Catholic Homilies,* and the future state of the righteous.

38. To denote an age of the world, the word *tīma* appears in several passages. *Þry timan sind on þyssere worulde: Ante legem, Sub lege, Sub gratia; þæt is, ær æ, under æ, under Godes gife,* ii. 190, 1-2. These three ages are explained in detail, *loc. cit.,* 2-10. A second reference, somewhat abbreviated, appears in a later account (ii. 408, 9-14). The three ages are briefly described: *Se tima is agan þe wæs ær Moyses æ, and se tima is agan ðe wæs under Moyses æ, se tima stent gyt ðe is under Godes gife, þæt is fram Cristes tocyme on menniscnysse oð þyssere worulde geendunge, loc. cit.,* 10-14. A similar statement of the three ages, or periods, of the world appears in the *Pastoral Epistle.*[9]

39. The inhabitants of the earth, the human race, are frequently designated by *woruld.* Several passages in the *Catholic Homilies* illustrate this usage: *þa nytennysse þisre worulde,* i. 248, 2; *Fæder þære toweardan worulde* (Christ, according to the prophet Isaiah (*Isaias*), shall be "Father of the world to come"), ii. 16, 8. *Þeos woruld is swa mid gedwyldum afylled, þæt heo ne mæg beon butan æswicungum,* i. 514, 34-35; *æðelboren for worulde* (noble-born in the estimation of the world), ii. 332, 34.

40. The simplex *eard,* country, earth, is considered in the chapter on "The Future State." It should be noted that in certain uses of *woruld, middangeard,* and *eorðe,* it is difficult to determine whether Aelfric means an age or the people of that age.

41. With respect to meaning and formation a number of compound nouns from *woruld* are of interest. Philosophy, as used in NE., Aelfric renders with *woruld-wīsdōm.* This sense appears in the expression, *woldon woruld-wisdom gecneordlice leornian,* and in the sense of 'worldly wisdom,' *þæt heora lar oferstah ealne woruld-wisdom* (that their lore, i.e. that of the disciples whom

[8] Grein-Wülker, *op. cit.,* pp. 19-20.

[9] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes,* p. 452.

Christ had instructed, excelled all worldly wisdom), i. 576, 34. The NE. term 'philosopher' Aelfric renders by *ūðwita*: *sum uðwita*; *þone uðwitan,* i. 60, 22, 31. "Things of this world" are expressed by *woruld-ðing,* as in: *þe ealle woruld-ðing forsawon* (who, i.e. the apostles, despised all worldly things), i. 580, 15. Secular men, in contrast with ordained men (*gehādode menn*), appear in Aelfric as *woruld-men,* i. 190, 6.

B. Angels

42. By Aelfric's time the OE. term *engel* had acquired the meaning commonly found in the gospels and in tenth century homilies, namely that of the ministering spirit and divine messenger (Cf. Matt. XXII, 30; John V, 4). In the Old Testament, which says nothing about the origin of angels, the sense of 'angel' in the original Hebrew is 'messenger.' The Greek Septuagint translated from the Hebrew the terms 'messenger,' 'messenger of Jehovah' by ἄγγελος, a rendering of the Hebrew *mal'ak,* 'a messenger.' The Greek New Testament adopted the term which in the Old Testament had as its primary meaning *nuntius, legatus.* Cf. Matt. XXVI, 53. Church Latin of the Occident rendered Gr. ἄγγελος by *angelus,* and in the course of time the secular meaning (*nuntius*) was detached while the ecclesiastical meaning, that of 'a superhuman spirit,' was retained.[10] The term 'angel' is an early Germanic adoption from the Latin, and appears, with variations in form, in the various Germanic languages. Gothic apparently adopted the term from the Greek.

43. Several passages in the *Catholic Homilies* refer to the creation of angels: *He* [God] *gesceop tyn engla werod,* i. 10, 12; *þa* [*Englas*] *gesceop se Ælmihtiga Wealdend on micelre fægernysse, him sylfum to lofe, and to wuldre and wurðmynte his mægenþrymme on ecnysse,* i. 538, 29-31; *Englas he* [God] *worhte, þa sind gastas, and nabbað nænne lichaman,* i. 276, 1-2. Aelfric usually employs the Latin loan word, and only for the sake of an explanation of the nature of angels does he approach a literal translation of the Latin adoption. An instance of this appears in i. 342, 26: *Angeli sind gecwedene Godes bodan; archangeli, healice bodan.* The OE. word *boda,* messenger, comes close in meaning to the Gr. ἄγγελος. The form *Angeli* reveals a close adherence to the Latin

[10] R. von Raumer, *Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die Althochdeutschen Sprache,* Stuttgart, 1845, p. 378.

original, Aelfric rendering the Latin form *Angeli* into OE. *Godes bodan.* The angels are pictured as spirits having great strength, power, and beauty (*hi sindon ealle gastas swiðe strange and mihtige and wlitige, on micelre fægernysse gesceapene*), i. 10, 15-17. Angels are of a higher order than men and have greater affinity to God than men, i. 10, 2-3. While the Bible gives no formal account of the nature of angels, and there is no reference to their origin in the Old Testament,[11] the creation of angels is mentioned in Col. I, 16, where different ranks, or orders, are given.

44. The ranks of angels are listed by Aelfric. God originally created ten hosts, or orders, but after the fall of the devil, only nine remained. *He gesceop tyn engla werod, þæt sind englas and heah-englas, throni, dominationes, principatus, potestates, uirtutes, cherubim, seraphim. Her sindon nigon engla werod . . . . Ðæt teoðe werod abreað and awende on yfel,* i. 10, 12-18. Aelfric again names the nine existing orders in i. 342, 22-24. Angels are associated with the expression, 'the powers of heaven,' where various ranks are mentioned: *Heofonan mihta sind englas and heah-englas, þrymsetl, ealdor-scipas, hlafordscipas and anwealdu,* i. 610, 22-24. The related orders of angels, as given in the Vulgate (Col. I, 16) show similarity to Aelfric's terms in content and form. . . . *sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates . . . .* The Latin sources of ecclesiastical doctrine during the middle ages apparently furnished other Germanic peoples with the same classification of the angels into nine orders, since this also appears in Old Norse.[12]

45. Angels, as spiritual beings intermediate between man and God, are supernatural servants and representatives of God. As their name implies, angels are messengers who declare God's will and execute His commissions.

46. The relationship between God and "the inhabitants of heaven" (*þa heofenlican ceastergewaran,* i. 348, 33), appears in the account of their creation, in that God created them in great beauty, for his own praise, and to the glory and honor of his majesty forever. i. 538, 28 ff. Aelfric distinguishes between the ministry of angels and the co-dwelling with God: *Oðer is ðenung, oðer is mid-*

[11] William, H. Bennett, "Angel," *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Vol. II (1910), pp. 4-6.

[12] Bernhard Kahle, *Die Altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums,* Berlin, 1890, p. 390.

wunung, i. 348, 4-5. Great numbers of holy spirits dwell in God's kingdom. Aelfric quotes from the prophet Daniel: "*þusend þusenda ðenodon þam Heofonlican Wealdende, and ten ðusend siðan hundfealde ðusenda him mid wunodon,*" *loc. cit.,* 2-4. The hosts (*werod*) that dwell with Him enjoy the closest contemplation of his Godhead (*brucað þære incundan embwlatunge his godcundnysse*), *loc. cit.,* 7-8. These angels never withdraw from His presence. The Cherubim, which are interpreted 'fulness of knowledge or understanding" (*Cherubin is gecweden gefyldnys ingehydes, oððe gewittes*), i. 344, 2-3; i. 346, 15-16, have more understanding, as they are nearer to God through the worthiness of their deserts (*ðurh wurðscipe heora geearnunga*), i. 344, 5. Not only the Cherubim but all angels in God's presence know all things, i. 348, 30. The love of God by the heavenly hosts is expressly mentioned in connection with the Seraphim, which "are interpreted burning or inflaming" (*sind gecwedene byrnende, oððe, onælende*), and "are burning, though not in the manner of fire, with great love of God" (*Hi sind byrnende na on fyres wisan, ac mid micelre lufe þæs Wealdendan Cyninges*), *loc. cit.,* 5-11. Aelfric thus gives a figurative exposition of the two orders of angels, the angels of light and of love.

47. Ministry (*ðēnung*) is one of the chief functions of the heavenly hosts. Brief mention of this activity was made in the preceding paragraph. The ministry of the angels to God consists in announcing His will to the world, and in performing the things that please Him: (*þa englas ðeniað Gode þe bodiað his willan middangearde, and ða ðing gefyllað þe him liciað*), i. 348, 5-6. The angels can not perpetrate any sin, but are ever meditating how they may obey God and be acceptable to him (*hu hi magon Gode gehyrsumian and him gecweman*), i. 12, 11-12. In the New Testament, angels, on particular occasions, appear as the ministers of God. There are, of course, similar references in Aelfric. The following are illustrative: *Godes heah-engel, Gabrihel* [the Annunciation, in the gospel account], i. 194, 19; *þa comon ðær fleogende færlice englas of healicre heofenan,* ii. 510, 14-15; *æfter þæra engla framfærelde,* i. 40, 5.

48. The protection of angels, often extended to the faithful, is sometimes expressed by *scyldung.* In narrating the vision of the priest Furseus (ii. 332 ff.), Aelfric describes a situation in which the fiery darts of the devils, in their attack upon the soul, were ex-

tinguished by the shielding of the armed angel (*þurh þæs gewæpnodan engles scyldunge*), ii. 336, 10. God in his benevolence has placed angels as guardians over us (*he hæft geset his englas us to hyrdum*, i. 170, 10), against the temptations of the devil. To express help, aid, against the wiles of the devil, *fultum, es*; m., is used. This word was previously discussed (Cf. Par. 13). Holy men require the support of angels in this life, that the devil may not tempt them as much as he would (*hi behofiað engla fultumes on þissum life*), i. 170, 8. In the homily on the *Dedication of the Church of St. Michael the Archangel*, Aelfric, quoting the words of the apostle (*ðæs apostles cwyde*), writes: *'englas beoð to ðeninggastum fram Gode hider on worulde asende, þæt hi beon on fultume his gecorenum, þæt hi ðone ecan eðel onfon mid him,'* i. 510, 15-18.

49. References to guardian angels for individuals appear in the New Testament (Matt. XVIII, 10; Acts XII, 15). This teaching appears in Aelfric. To every Christian man from birth an angel has been assigned as a guardian (*to hyrde*), against the machination of the devil and to support him in holy virtues (*on halgum mægnum*), i. 516, 27. Angels are placed as guardians over God's chosen (*his gecorenum*) and never depart from God's presence, for he is everywhere, i. 518. As intercessors between God and men, angels announce men's work and prayers to God (*weorc and gebedu þam Ælmihtigan*), *loc. cit.*, 6. The archangel Michael (*se heahengel Michahel*), who is the guardian of Christian men (*hæbbe gymene cristenra manna*, i. 518, 26), is not only the constant supporter of Christians on earth, but also their intercessor in heaven with God (*þæt se mæra heofonlica engel beo singallice cristenra manna gefylsta on eorðan, and ðingere on heofonum ðam Ælmihtigan Gode*), i. 518, 31-33. Michael thus appears in the double role of supporter (*gefylsta*) and intercessor (*ðingere*). The conception of the guardian angels is, as the previous statements show, related to the doctrine of the intercession of saints. Under the term saints Aelfric includes angels and men (*Godes halgan sind englas and menn*, i. 538, 28).

50. With regard to the existence of guardian angels over nations, Aelfric quotes as his authority the following statement of Moses in the fifth book of the *Pentateuch* (*on þære fiftan bec þære Ealdan Æ*): *'þaþa se healica God todælde and tostencte Adames ofspring, þa sette he ðeoda gemæru æfter getele his engla,'* i. 518, 13-15. That God set the boundaries of nations according to the

number of his angels proves, in Aelfric's opinion, that archangels are set over every nation. Aelfric, in a scholarly fashion, quotes from the Prophet Daniel for additional evidence regarding the existence of guardian angels over nations, *loc. cit.*, 11, 17-25. Native words are used here as elsewhere in the homilies to express conceptions of Christianity which were, to a certain extent at least, new or foreign to Aelfric's contemporaries. To denote an angel as a guardian of nations, the native word *ealdor,* chief, prince, is used: *Michahel, Ebreisces folces ealdor . . . on ðæra fyrmestra ealdra . . . Greciscre þeode ealdor,* i. 518, 18-28. The native term *hyrde,* shepherd, guardian, as was shown above, expresses angel as a guardian over individuals. The compound *hēah-engel* is interesting as a hybrid form, the prefix, of native origin, being joined to the Latin adoption.

C. Devils

51. The devil with the evil spirits stands in sharp contrast to God and the celestial angels. The NE. form devil (OE. *dēofol, dēoful*) is an adoption from the Gr. διάβολος from διαβάλλειν to slander. The Greek loan word has thus come to represent the spirit of evil, the enemy of God and man. The Septuagint rendered the Hebrew *satan* of the Old testament by διάβολος, which was adopted in Latin as *diabolus.* In the Old Latin version of the Old Testament *diabolus* was regularly retained, but Jerome substituted the Hebrew form *sātān* (L. *Satanas*), which is the term generally used in the Vulgate. In the Greek New Testament the Hebrew word *sātān* is either adopted in the form ὁ σατανᾶς (Luke XI, 18), or is translated ὁ διάβολος, "the slanderer," "accuser" (Luke IV, 2). The Vulgate has the corresponding terms *satanas* and *diabolus.* The New Testament also uses τὸ δαιμόνιον for devil, demon (Luke IV, 35).

52. According to the New Testament doctrine, the devil is described as the slanderer, the accuser, the tempter, the evil one, and the enemy. These conceptions generally appear in Aelfric's homilies, where the references to the devil reflect the general cultural conditions and views of the period.

53. A number of names for the devil illustrate his character or instrinsic nature. In antithesis to God, who is good, kind, gracious, the devil is evil, hostile. The following expressions are illustrative: *þone lyðran deoful,* i. 270, 13; *se reða deoful,* i. 240, 25; *wælrœw*

deoful, i. 192, 25; *se manfulla deoful,* ii. 448, 27; *cwelmbære deoflu,* ii. 326, 12; *se ealda wregere,* ii. 336, 22; *ðam wælhreawum deoflum,* ii. 380, 19; *se swicola feond,* ii. 318, 19, etc.; *þa feondlican costneras,* i. 344, 31.

54. The epithet old, OE. *eald,* a common Germanic form familiar to the Anglo-Saxons from heathen times, is sometimes applied to the devil, the chief of the evil spirits: *þone ealdan deofol,* i. 94, 7; *Se ealda sceocca,* ii. 336, 28; *Se ealda wregere,* ii. 336, 22.

55. Over against the glory and majesty of God are contrasted the foulness and unpleasantness of the devil. The following illustrate the devil as unpleasant, unlovely, unclean: *atelic sceocca,* i. 16, 21; *to ðam atelican deofle,* i. 466, 28; *se unclæna gast,* i. 462, 19; *to laðlicum deoflum,* i. 10, 31; *þu unclæna deofol,* i. 462, 18; *he geclænsode þis templ fram þæs deofles fulnyssum,* i. 466, 16. Unpleasant conditions prevail after the departure of the devil, who, clothed with purple, in great splendor, appeared before St. Martin and claimed he was Jesus: *Ða fordwan se deofol dreorig him fram, and seo stow ða stanc mid ormætum stence, æfter andwerdnysse þæs egeslican gastes,* ii. 512, 31-33. Cf. i. 466. The likeness of the devil, which is unlovely to modern readers (Cf. Par. 58), was similarly regarded by Aelfric, for the devil is called 'hideous' (*þam atelican deofle*), i. 466, 28.

56. The nature and attributes of the devil are further indicated by a number of epithets and forms, each of which illustrates some attribute, or trait, of the devil. Deceit and envy appear as diabolical traits. *þone swicolan deofol,* i. 118, 28; *se swicola feond,* ii. 318, 19; 140, 16; (Cf. *Iudas se swicola,* ii. 246, 7); *se niðfulla deofol,* ii. 156, 8; *se ungesewenlica deofol,* ii. 164, 32; *þone ungesewenlican feond,* ii. 402, 18; *se ungesewenlica draca,* ii. 176, 29; *ðone wacolan feond,* ii. 560, 28; *þone ðwyran deofol,* ii. 200, 9; *Se awyrigeda deofol,* i. 460, 24; ii. 512, 20; *se awyrigeda gast,* ii. 64, 15; 166, 8, etc.; *se fleogenda sceocca,* ii. 90, 27; *þone micclan deofol,* i. 218, 12; *to ðam leasan,* ii. 512, 28.

57. A few terms which denote the figure, or outward form, of the devil appear in the *Catholic Homilies.* Black, possibly symbolic of the secret or hidden, is occasionally applied to the devil and the evil spirits. Aelfric tells us that the island of Farne was full of black spirits (*mid sweartum gastum swiðe wæs afylled*), so that men could not cultivate the soil because of the threats of the black devils (*for ðeowracan sweartra deofla*), ii. 142, 31-32. The devil is de-

scribed as an immense Ethiop (*ormæte Silhearwa*), i. 466, 24. Similarly the abode of the devil and his associates is sometimes described as a place of darkness; hence the terms *ðæra ðeostra ealdras,* i. 76, 4; *into ecum ðeostrum,* i. 528, 26; etc.

58. References to the devil sometimes describe a mixture of human and animal forms, the main figure being human, with the addition of animal characteristics, such as horns and tail. This conception, which is more or less common to the Germanic peoples from Pre-Christian times, appears, in part at least, in Aelfric, where the likeness of the devil is described: *He* [the devil] *wearð ða æteowod swylce ormæte Silhearwa, mid scearpum nebbe, mid sidum bearde. His loccas hangodon to þam anccleowum, his eagan wæron fyrene spearcan sprengende; him stod swæflen lig of ðam muðe, he wæs egeslice gefiðerhamod... . .*, i. 466, 22-28. Cf. ii. 164, 20-25.

59. The devil is sometimes described as a dragon. In one instance in Aelfric the invisible devil appears in the form of a dragon: *Þa mynster-munceas urnon to, and swa-ðeah nateshwon þone dracan ne gesawon, forðan þæt wæs se ungesewenlica deofol . . .* ii. 176, 23-25; *se ungesewenlica draca, loc. cit.,* 29. The OE. form *draca* (OHG. *traccho*) is a loan word from Latin *draco.* A similar association of the devil and his associates with animal forms appears in Aelfric's exposition of the Gospel text, where devils are identified with flying birds: *Deoflu sind fugelas gecigede, forðan ðe hi fleoð geond þas lyft ungesewenlice, swa swa fugelas doð gesewenlice. Matheus awrat þus be ðisum, and sæde, "Ælc ðæra ðe gehyrð þæt heofenlice word, and he hit ne understent, ðonne cymð se yfela and gelæhð hit." Mid þam is geswutelod þæt ða sind wið þone weig gesawene, ðe Godes word gehyrað, and hit nellað mid geleafan ne mid nanum andgite onfon; þonne ætbret se fleogenda sceocca ðærrihte þæt halige sæd of swilcera gedwolena heortan,* ii. 90, 20-28. Cf. i. 16, 32: The devil, when he tempted Eve in Paradise, appeared in a serpent's form (*on næddran hiwe*).

60. Forms designating the devil and devils are occasionally related to their place of abode. Thus: *hellwarum Cristes to-cyme cydde,* i. 364, 2; *ðæra ðeostra ealdras,* i. 76, 4; *ða hellican gastas,* i. 410, 2. Sometimes the qualifying adjective is transferred from the inhabitants to the place of abode, as: *to grimre hell,* ii. 516, 10.

61. In the preface to the first volume of the *Catholic Homilies* Aelfric gives as his reasons for translating the homilies into Eng-

lish from the Latin that many errors appeared in the books available in English; and, secondly, that the doctrines of the church were available only to those who knew Latin. Heretical books existed, both in Latin and in English, during Aelfric's time: *Sind swaðeah gyt ða dwollican bec, ægðer ge on Leden ge on Englisc, and hi rædað ungerade menn,* ii. 444, 23-25. Men needed good instruction (*gōde lāre*), owing to the approaching end of the world: *on þissum timan þe is geendunge þyssere worulde,* i. 2, 32-33.

62. The above will serve as a brief introduction to Aelfric's identification of the visible devil with Antichrist, who would appear at the end of the world: *Þonne cymð se Antecrist, se bið mennisc mann and soð deofol, swa swa ure Hælend is soðlice mann and God on anum hade,* i. 4, 14-16. Cf. ii. 452, 1-4; 540, 33. This subject frequently appears in tenth century homilies, since the world was thought to end in the year 1000. In the homilies of Aelfric several references to Antichrist appear. The sixth age of the world extends from the birth of Christ to the coming of Antichrist (*oð Antecristes to-cyme*), ii. 58, 9.

63. The obscure form *scucca, sceocca,* is sometimes applied in OE. to the devil.[13] In Aelfric's homilies the term is used interchangeably with *dēofol* to designate the chief of the evil spirits, though the later homilies in the two series display an increasing tendency to use *scucca.* Cf. Goth. *skōhsl,* n. 'evil spirit'; possibly related to ON. *skaka,* preterit *skōk*; OE. *sceacan*; and the OS. preterit *skōk.* The forms *scucca, sceocca,* mentioned previously in other connections, are, in addition, illustrated in the following: *Se sceocca andwyrde,* i. 462, 35; ii. 446, 26; 450, 3; *se scucca,* ii. 446, 24; 452, 14, 18.

64. Certain traits of the devil are inseparably connected with his activities, and are related to his fall from God's grace. The devil's presumption (*dyrstignys*) appears not only when he tempts Christ, but also when, as prince of the tenth host of angels, he would share the heavenly kingdom with God and be equal to God. Having quoted from the gospel the account of Christ's temptation on a mountain by the devil, Aelfric continues: *Dysterlice* (presumptuously) *spræc se deofol her, swa swa he ær spræc þaþa he on heofenum wæs, þaþa he wolde dælan heofonan rice wið his Scyp-*

[13] *Beowulf,* F. Klaeber's edition, Boston, 1922, l. 939: *scuccum ond scinnum. The Blickling Homilies,* edited by Rev. R. Morris, *Early English Text Society,* London, 1874, 1876, 1880, Vols. 58, 63, 73, p. 189, l. 7: *sucna englas.*

pend, and beon Gode gelic; *ac his dyrstignys hine awearp ða into helle* . . . i. 170, 35 ff. Pride, a similar trait, is given as the cause for the fall of the devil: *Ða wæs þæs teoðan werodes ealdor swiðe fæger and wlitig gesceapen, swa þæt he wæs gehaten Leohtberend. Þa began he to modigenne for þære fægernysse þe he hæfde.* . . . i. 10, 20 ff. The fall of the devil (*þæs deofles hryre*) was not due to the fact that he had been misled by any instigation: he had himself devised the presumption (*þa up-ahefednysse*) through which he fell, i. 192, 22-24. The devil fell through disobedience (*þurh ungehyrsumnesse*), i. 14, 12. The devil, who before was created a great angel, became changed to the devil through his great haughtiness and enmity (*þurh þa miclan up-ahefednysse and wiðerweardnysse*), i. 12, 21-22.

65. The above shows how the devil came to revolt against God. Aelfric describes the devil as having many associates, and this conception appears in the account of the fall of the tenth host of angels. They, at the suggestion of their chief, resolved to revolt against God, and were all changed from the fair form in which they were created to loathly devils (*to laðlicum deoflum*), i. 10, 26-31. The associates of the devil are frequently called 'accursed angels' and 'accursed spirits': *mid deofle and his awyrigedum englum,* ii. 108, 31-32; *ðam deofle and his awyrigedum gastum, ibid.,* 19; *ða awyrgedan gastas,* i. 344, 28; *se awyrigeda gast* (the devil), ii. 64, 15; 166, 8; *ða hellican gastas,* i. 410, 2; etc.; Cf. *mid sweartum gastum,* ii. 142, 31.

66. In accordance with his chief activity the devil is called the Tempter (*se costnere,* i. 166, 11; *se costere,* ii. 156, 22). Cf. OHG. *kostari.* The accursed spirits (*þa awyrgedan gastas*) are identified with 'the fiendlike tempters' (*þa feondlican costneras*), i. 344, 31. The abstract noun *costnung* is occasionally used to express the temptation of the devil: *gif us deofol drecce mid menigfealdum geðohtum and costnungum,* i. 156, 21; *ða ættrigan flan deoflicere costnunge,* ii. 140, 21; *On ðreo wisan bið deofles costnung: þæt is on tihtinge, on lust-fullunge, on geðafunge,* i. 174, 30-31. The ceremony of baptism includes a question, which the mass-priest asks the child: *Wiðsæcst ðu eallum his getotum?* (ii. 52, 7). This reference shows vainglory and pomp as traits of the devil. Vainglory is one of the three temptations of the devil: *Se ealda deofol gecostnode urne fæder Adam on ðreo wisan: þæt is mid gyfernysse, and mid idelum wuldre, and mid gitsunge; and þa wearð he oferswiðed,*

forðon þe he geðafode þam deofle on eallum ðrim costnungum, i. 176, 13-16. Cf. ii. 220, 28: *idel-wuldor, þæt is gylp oððe getot* (vainglory, that is pride or pomp).

67. In the preceding discussion of the character, traits, and fall of the devil, the nature of diabolical activities has, in some instances at least, become manifest. A comprehensive account of the devil's activities would include sin and related subjects—topics which are treated in a separate chapter. There are, however, certain terms applied to the devil which describe his work and which properly belong here. Aelfric calls the devil "inciter to evil, worker of falsehood, author of sins, and deceiver of souls" (*yfel tihtend, and leas wyrcend, synna ordfruma, and sawla bepæcend*), i. 102, 1-2. The Jews, when they killed Christ, imitated "their father, that is, the devil, who was a manslayer from the beginning, not by weapons, but through evil instigation" (*heora fæder, þæt, is, deofol, ðe fram frymðe wæs manslaga, na þurh wæpnum, ac þurh yfelre tihtinge*), ii. 226, 28. Throughout the Homilies appear passages that describe the devil in various forms, and actively engaged in carrying out his warfare against men. *Þa ne mihte se ealda deofol þas dæda* [St. Benedict's missionary activities] *mid swigan forberan, ac mid openlicere gesihðe hine æteowode ðam halgan were, on atelicum hiwe, mid byrnendum muðe and ligenum eagum, wedende him togeanes, and mid micclum hreame his sið bemænde, swa þæt ða gebroðru ða deofellican stemme swutellice gehyrdon*, ii. 164, 20-25. The devil appears before St. Benedict and interferes with the building of the church. ii. 166, 18. Accursed devils, with divers illusions (*gedwymorum*), frequently appeared before St. Martin: *Eac se halga bisceop geseah gelome ða awyrigedan deoflu mid mislicum gedwymorum. He nateshwon ne ondred heora deofellican hiw, ne he næs bepæht þurh heora leasungum*, ii. 512, 20-23. Cf. Skeat 31, 706-709: *Eac swilce þa deofla mid heora searo-cræftum him* [St. Martin] *comon gelome to . and he on-cneow hi æfre . for-þan-þe him nan deofol ne mihte bediglian hine sylfne . ne on agenre edwiste ne on oþrum hiwe.* This and similar references of a fantastic nature appear in the second series of the *Catholic Homilies*, which contains more legend and church history; doctrine is more fully treated in the first series.

68. Abstract nouns are often employed to express the devil's work. A brief summary follows: *þurh þæs deofles lare*, i. 18, 8;

þæs deofles leasunge, ii. 100, 8; *þurh deofles swicdom,* i. 20, 3; *mid þæs deofles searocræftum,* i. 192, 21; *mid deofles lotwrencum bepæht,* i. 192, 15; *fram eallum his syrwungum,* i. 270, 9; *be ðæs deofles tæcunge,* i. 168, 26; *þurh deofles tihtinge beswicen,* i. 26, 24; *mid deofles awyrigednysse,* i. 100, 34; *to gescyndnysse* [confusion: the devil leads the sinful to confusion, that is, to hell], ii. 66, 21.

CHAPTER III

SIN

69. The New Testament contains many passages that treat the existence and nature of sin among mankind. Cf. Matt. VII, 11; I John III, 4; etc. Sin is a transgression of the law of God, and men are characterized as evil and sinful. This New Testament conception of sin as any transgression of, or want of conformity to, the law of God has become current since the beginning of the Christian Era. In OE. there are examples of the original general sense of sin; namely, 'offence, wrong-doing, misdeed.' The OE. form is *synn.*[1] In order to make a study of the doctrine of sin in Aelfric's homilies, it is necessary to include such related topics as the creation and fall of man, the nature and origin of the soul, and free will.

70. The creation of man is treated at length in the homily *De Initio Creaturae.* God created man to compensate for the loss of the tenth host of angels, which through pride rebelled and was transformed into devils, i. 12, 24 ff. Man was originally created in God's image (*to ure anlicnysse*), i. 16, 12; all things—the heaven, earth, and creatures—were created without matter (*butan antimbre*), i. 236, 10. The original condition of Adam and Eve before the fall is described by *bilewit,* simple, sincere, honest:[2] *Næron hi blinde gesceapene, ac God hi gesceop swa bilewite þæt hi ne cuðon nan ðing yfeles, naðor ne on gesihðe, ne on spræce, ne on weorce,* i. 18, 5-7.

71. Original sin (*fyrnlic synn*), the inherited tendency to do wrong, has its origin in the fall, when the woman was seduced through the devil's counsel (*þurh ðæs deofles lare*), i. 18, 8. Adam's

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[1] WGmc. **sunjo,* 'sin,' and Goth. *sunja* 'truth,' are based on IE. **es* to be, whence the meanings 'truth,' and, more remotely, 'guilt.' It appears that the Gothic noun (*sunja*) adopted its meaning from the sense 'true,' while the WGmc. forms (OE. *synn, et al.*) adopted their meanings from the sense 'guilty.' Cf. Falk-Torp, *op. cit.,* S. Feist, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Gotischen Sprache,* Halle, 1909.

[2] "The interpretation 'white of bill,' like a young bird (f. OE. *bile-hwīt*) was current at an early date, as shown by 12th c. spellings; . . . and it must be noted that the earlier spellings had not *hwīt* but *wite,*" *NED.* The etymology of OE. *bilewit* is doubtful. Cf. L. *mansuetus, simplex.*

sin was due to pride, since he wished to be greater than he was originally created, ii. 464, 20. Disobedience and pride caused the downfall of Adam and all his descendants: *Se frumsceapena man and eall his ofspring wearð adræfed of neorxena-wanges myrhðe, þurh ungehyrsumnysse, . . . and þurh modignysse . . . .* i. 118, 23-26. Adam and Eve were responsible for their first transgression, since they had their own free will (*agenne cyre*), i. 20, 9. The fall deprived man of "original righteousness," while reason and freedom remained. Thus in contrast to their original condition, when Adam and Eve with meekness and obedience (*mid eadmodnysse and mid gehyrsumnysse*) might merit the kingdom of heaven, they become mortal (*dēadlice*) and knew both good and evil. Mortality (*dēadlicnys*), the hardships of this life, and loss of salvation of the soul were the results of the fall. i. 18, 12-18. Adam's sin affects all mankind: *Þes an blinda man getacnode eall mancynn, þe wearð ablend þurh Adames gylt, and asceofen of myrhðe neoxena-wanges* [*sic*], *and gebroht to ðisum life þe is wiðmeten cwearterne,* i. 154, 10-13. Every person is born in sin through Adam's transgression (*þurh Adames forgægednysse*), ii. 268, 31. Cf. ii. 12, 13: *Ure ealda fæder, Adam, us gestrynde to deaðe . . . .* The relationship of the individual to sin is one in which God is not to blame; but rather, the devil who deceived mankind, Adam's transgression, and finally the individual himself, since evil pleases him (*þæt him yfel gelicað, and ne licað god,* i. 114, 20).

72. Several terms pertaining to the fall and original sin were included in the preceding introductory account. The phrase 'original sin' has been adopted since Anglo-Saxon times, appearing in this sense in English during the early fourteenth century. The corresponding OE. term in Aelfric is *fyrnlic,* criminal, grievous. Cf. OHG. *firin-līh.* The form is used in the following phrase in the sense of "original" sin: *fram fyrnlicere synne ðæs frumsceapenan mannes,* ii. 260, 16-17. Cf. Skeat 29, 61: *þæt he beo gefullod fram fyrnlicum synnum*; and 10, 47: *þa fæstan cnottan. fyrnlicra synna.* Cf. ii. 398, 3: *æfter fyrnlicum* (old) *leahtrum.* The form *fyrnlic* in Aelfric, especially when used with sin, is often rendered 'original, former, old.' A yielding to temptation, a moral fall, applied to the fall of Adam and Eve, is expressed by *hryre, es;* m. fall, perdition. *Þa twa forman gesceapennyssa feollon on hryre,* ii. 8, 31. Cf. i. 32, 28: *æfter ðæs deofles hryre.* Other references to the fall and original sin are: *on ðæs frumsceapenan mannes forgægednysse,* i.

34, 30; *to Adames forgœgednysse,* i. 114, 19, etc.; *þurh Adames gylt,* i. 154, 11; *þurh deofles swicdom and Adames gylt,* i. 20, 3; *buton for manna lyre* (men's perdition), ii. 342, 13.

73. The question of original sin is closely related to the question of the origin of the soul. Man was created with body and soul (*he wearð þa mann gesceapen on sawle and on lichaman,* i. 12, 30, With regard to the origin of the soul Aelfric teaches creationism: *se ylca* [God] *seðe ableow on Adames lichaman, and him forgeaf sawle, se ylca forgyfð cildum sawle and lif on heora modor innoðe, þonne hi gesceapene beoð. . . .* i. 20, 16-18. Every man's soul is created by God, yet it is not of God's own nature (*of Godes agenum gecynde*), i. 292, 27. That Aelfric is against the doctrine of pre-existence appears from his reference to Judas, of whom the Lord said that better were it for him had he not been born. That, says Aelfric, is not to be understood by any sensible person, as if he were anywhere before he was born (*swilce he awar wære ærðan ðe he geboren wære*), ii. 244, 19. Cf. i. 292, 30-33.

74. The nature of the soul is spiritual. *Seo sawul is gast, and be eorðlicum mettum ne leofað,* ii. 462, 19. The soul has the likeness of the Trinity. *Þæs mannes sawl hæfð on hire gecynde þære Halgan Þrynnysse anlicnysse; forðan þe heo hæfð on hire ðreo ðing, þæt is gemynd, and andgit, and willa,* i. 288, 17-19. Another threefold nature of the soul, which Aelfric attributes to the philosophers (*ūþwytan*), appears in *Lives of Saints*: *Uþwitan sæcgað þæt þære sawle gecynd is ðryfeald. An dæl is on hire gewylnigend-lic. oðer yrsigend-lic. þrydde gesceadwislic,* Skeat 1, 97-99. The soul is a rational spirit (*gesceadwis gast*) immortal (*æfre cucu*) and is capable of following either a good or an evil desire, according to its own choice, Skeat 1, 171-172. God had endowed Adam's soul with immortality and happiness (*mid undeadlicnysse, and mid gesælðe*), i. 21, 2. Through the fall, happiness was lost, while immortality remained. This conception is important in its relation to the Christian doctrine of sin, salvation, and the future state.

A. General Terms

75. Owing to Aelfric's views of the extension of sinful corruption through evil (*yfelnys*), every creature being originally good from nature (*god on gecynde*), ii. 226, 32, a large number of terms for sin as an offence against God, or the violation of some religious or moral principle, occur in the *Catholic Homilies.* Aelfric makes

a distinction between light sins (*leohtlice synna,* ii. 590, 14) and the deadly sins (*þa heafod-leahtras*). Cf. ii. 592; ii. 218-222.

76. The form *synn* has been previously considered. It is often used as a general term for violation of God's law. Thus: *synn underfehð geendunge,* ii. 14, 13; *middaneardes synna,* ii. 38, 29; *fram fyrnlicere synne,* ii. 260, 15; *þa swæran synna,* ii. 590, 19; *leohtlice synna,* ii. 590, 14; etc. Cf. *se synfulla,* i. 472, 2.

77. Offence, sin, is expressed by *scyld*: *ðurh hire scylda oncnawennysse,* i. 410, 11; *ponne bið his scyld unalysendlic* (i.e. sin against the Holy Spirit), i. 500, 18.

78. Another general term is *ārlēasnyss,* wickedness. It has varying shades of meaning and denotes a sinful state rather than a sinful act. The distinction is, however, not always sharply defined. Thus we find: *seo eorðlice arleasnyss,* i. 48, 23; *heora arleasnysse,* i. 50, 26; *ðurh heora arleasnysse* (impiety) *forwurðað,* i. 112, 28; *eower arleasnysse* (impiety), ii. 490, 7; etc. Cf. *þa arleasan,* i. 300, 18; 616, 28. The impious (*þa arleasan*) are compared with the righteous (*þa rihtwisan*), i. 616, 28.

79. A form of considerable frequency in Aelfric is *leahter,*[3] crime, sin. It is frequently used to denote the chief, or deadly, sins: *mid heofod-leahtrum,* i. 124, 11; 342, 10; etc.; *þa healican leahtras,* i. 340, 26; 410, 30; *þa reðan deor eahta heafod-leahtra,* i. 360, 19; etc. Other sins are expressed by *leahter*: *ða openan leahtras,* i. 498, 7; *ða deofellican leahtras,* ii. 210, 6; *æfter frynlicum leahtrum,* ii. 398, 3; etc. Adverbial and verb forms appear, as *leahtorlice,* i. 118, 13; and *geleahtrode,* ii. 226, 17.

80. *Gylt,* 'guilt,' as a general term for sin is used to express the various kinds of sin, as original sin (*þurh Adames gylt,* i. 20, 3); deadly sins (*on healice gyltas,* i. 340, 24); light sins (*þa leohtan gyltas,* ii. 590, 20); and secret sins (*þa diglan gyltas,* i. 498, 9). Without the qualifying adjective, *gylt* expresses sin; as *for þan gylte,* i. 20, 10; *for gyltum,* ii. 516, 15; etc.

81. A word not frequently found in Aelfric is *mān,* crime, evil deed. Cf. OS. *mēn*; OHG. *mein;* Icel. *mein.* It appears in the simple form, *gecnæwe his manes,* ii. 510, 21; and in the compound

[3] Cf. Dan. *last,* fault, vice, blame, from NGmc. **lahstu-,* which corresponds to WGmc. **lahstra-* (Cf. OHG. *lastar,* blame, fault, and WGmc. **lahtra-* (Cf. OE. *leahtor,* blame, sin). The primary verbal sense appears in OS., OHG. *lahan,* OE. *lēan,* to blame. OE. *leahter* is constructed from **lah-* + the IE. suffix **tro.* See Falk und Torp, *op. cit.*; F. Kluge, *Nominale Stambildungslehre der Altgermanischen Dialekte,* Halle, 1899, Par. 141.

mānfulnyss (wickedness), *buton beorman yfelnysse and manfulnysse,* ii. 278, 20. Another compound is *māndǣd,* sin, crime, wicked deed. In Aelfric it has a greater frequency than the simplex *mān.* Thus: *maran mandœda gefremedon,* i. 402, 14; *þurh his mandœda,* i. 498, 11; *handa fram mandœdum,* i. 96, 24. The wicked are called *þa manfullan,* i. 228, 3. The adjective *mānfullic,* wicked, appears in *manfullic dœd,* ii. 208, 31.

82. *Forgǣgednyss,* which was discussed under original sin, is also applied to other transgressions. Aelfric urges us to confess our heedlessness and transgressions (*ure gymeleaste and forgœgednysse,* ii. 98, 29) during the Lenten Fast.

83. Aelfric's view of sin committed through the five senses is of interest preparatory to a consideration of specific sins. The five senses of the body are "ports" through which men sin. *Þæt portgeat* [i.e. of the City of Nain] *getacnað sum lichamlic angit* (sense) *þe men ðurh syngiað,* i. 492, 13-14. The various "ports" are listed, as *ðurh his muðes geat . . . ðurh his eagena geat, loc. cit.,* 16, 17. So is it also to be understood, says Aelfric, of the other senses. The theory is summarized in the homily *In Natale Sanctarum Uirginum,* where Aelfric stipulates the requirements for maiden purity: *Ælc ðœra manna ðe hine forhœfð from unalyfedlicere gesihðe, fram unalyfedlicere heorcnunge, fram unalyfedlicum swœcce, fram unalyfedlicum stence, fram unalyfedlicere hrepunge, se hœfð mœdenes naman for ðœre anwalhnysse,* ii. 564, 2-6. These five senses are not to be wasted uselessly through curiosity and unstillness (*þurh fywitnysse* [*sic*] *and unstilnysse*), ii. 374, 1-2. Aelfric urges abstinence from unallowed excitements (*fram unalyfedlicum styrungum*) of the five senses, ii. 564, 17. Cf. ii. 372, 25; ii. 550, 10-11; etc.

84. To follow consistently St. Augustine's classification of sin, namely *peccata operis, oris, cordis,* entails difficulties. Often the line of demarcation is not so sharply drawn but that the same offence could be classified under more than one topic. Yet for the sake of clearness of treatment the plan formerly used by Kahle and Keiser is adopted here.[4] Aelfric gives a somewhat similar classification of sin. *Þære sawle deað is þreora cynna: an is yfel geðafung, oðer is yfel weorc, ðridda is yfel gewuna,* i. 496, 5-6. The homily

[4] Bernard Kahle, *Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums,* Berlin, 1890. Albert Keiser, *The Influence of Christianity On the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry,* Urbana, Ill., 1919.

in which the above passage appears is based, however, on Bede.[5] At the beginning of the homily *Beda se trahtnere* is mentioned as a source.

B. Peccata Operis

85. Aelfric mentions one large division of specific sins when he refers to groups of sinful (*synfulle*), who manifest their evil by works (*heora yfelnysse mid weorcum*), i. 496, 21. Several general terms denote sinful activities. These are often expressed by *dǣd,* 'deed,' in its simple and compound forms. Thus: *on ðwyrlicum dædum,* ii. 398, 7; 404, 31; *þa ærran* [former, i.e. sinful] *dæda,* i. 350, 20, ii. 560, 16; *þa unalyfedan dæda,* ii. 532, 35; Cf. ii. 552, 9: *to eorðlicum dædum* [earthly deeds in contrast with spiritual pursuits]. Several compounds appear: *mæran mandæda,* i. 402, 14; *manfullic dæd,* ii. 208, 31; *heora misdæda,* i. 234, 5; *his misdæda,* ii. 428, 27; *yfel-dædum,* i. 102, 4.

86. Several forms express sinful works of a general nature. These, which are virtually general terms for sin, seem to imply some activity and are, consequently, listed under *peccata operis.* Offence is denoted by *ǣswicung* and *uncyst*: *"Wa middangearde for æswicungum,"* i. 514, 30; *ealle æswicunge,* ii. 562, 27; *mid þære uncyste ðine yfelnysse,* i. 142, 2. Sinful practices are rendered by *ðēaw,* which has several meanings in Aelfric, and by *tilung,* also *tylung*: *ðas unðeawas,* i. 164, 5; *woruldlice ðeawas,* i. 534, 34; *æt unalyfedum tilungum,* i. 474, 21. Cf. ii. 552, 10: *þa gastlican tylunga.*

87. To denote worldly error, i.e. sin, Aelfric uses *gedwyld.* This sense appears in *his gedwyld,* i. 350, 20; *middaneardlic gedwyld,* ii. 90, 13. The more common usage for this term is error, i.e. heresy. This is illustrated by *þis gedwyld,* i. 24, 3; *Arrianes gedwyld,* ii. 504, 12; *to his gedwylde,* i. 290, 13. The nouns for personal agent are *se gedwola,* i. 290, 12; *and gedwolmen,* ii. 46, 23. A related adjective form occurs in *wið . . . dwollicere deopnysse* (from the abyss of error), ii. 60, 13.

88. Terms for sinners have been given in connection with the term for the offence, as *se synfulla,* i. 472, 2; etc. The wicked, rejected, is expressed by *wiðercora.* This term is apparently a rendering of *reprobus,* a term which Augustine had used to designate the

[5] Max Förster, *Über die Quellen von Aelfric's Homiliae Catholicae,* Berlin, 1892, p. 25.

wicked. The OE. term *wiðercora* is often rendered 'reprobate,' as in: *gesamnodon gehwylce ðwyrlice wiðercoran,* i. 468, 5; *wiðercora þurh weorc,* i. 530, 5. The abstract noun is *wiðercorennys,* reprobation: *þurh wiðercorennysse and leahtrum heora ðwyran lifes,* ii. 290, 19. The form for criminals is *fyrnfulle,* i. 52, 32. Other terms for sinners might be given.

89. Remissness, or sin of omission, is expressed by *gīmelēast.* This term appears in connection with provisions for confession, repentance, etc. Thus we find: *we sceolon ure gimeleaste gebetan,* i. 164, 26; *ure gymeleaste . . . geinnian,* i. 180, 18; *ure gymeleaste,* ii. 98, 29.

90. The deadly sins are occasionally enumerated in the *Catholic Homilies.* The lists that Aelfric gives are not, however, in every case identical. Since this is the case, it appears advisable to compare corresponding passages in the *Catholic Homilies* and in *Lives of Saints.* The list in *Lives of Saints* is explained in detail, the corresponding Latin terms, which do not appear in the *Catholic Homilies,* being given for each of the sins; in other respects, however, the lists in the *Catholic Homilies* and in *Lives of Saints* agree. The enumeration from the *Catholic Homilies* follows: *Se forma heafod-leahter is gyfernys, se oðer is galnyss, ðrydda gytsung, feorða weamet, fifta unrotnys, sixta asolcennyss oððe æmelnys, seofoða ydel gylp, eahteoða modignyss,* ii. 218, 20-23. The list of eight deadly sins in *Ecclesiastical Institutes,*[6] which might possibly be regarded as a norm for the Anglo-Saxon period, includes gluttony, adultery, worldly sadness, avarice, vainglory, envy, anger, and pride. These compare in the main with Aelfric's eight chief sins, with the exception of envy (*æfest*), in place of which Aelfric gives slothfulness or aversion. Envy (*anda*) is included, however, in a more extended list of deadly sins, ii. 592, 7. This list, which appears towards the close of the *Catholic Homilies,* that is, towards the end of the second series, includes offences which reveal Aelfric's corrective work among his contemporaries. *Þa heafod-leahtras sind, mansliht, cyrc-bræce, and þæt man oðres mannes wif hæbbe, and leasgewitnyssa, stala, reaflac, gitsung, ydel gylp, modignys, anda, and singal oferdrenc, hæðengyld, drycræft, wiccecræft,* ii. 592, 4-7. We have noted above that Aelfric includes 'slothfulness or aversion' in his eight deadly sins. This is significant, for when

[6] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes,* p. 482.

we consider Aelfric's preaching against ignorance, folly, lack of industry, and sloth, it appears that the monastic revival of which Aelfric was a part, was not solely religious in the strict sense of the term. By including sloth among the deadly sins, an offence, as previously stated, not mentioned in *Ecclesiastical Institutes,* Aelfric approaches more closely the list of the traditional seven deadly sins, which are pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, and sloth.

91. One of the specific sins of the flesh is lust, OE. *lust.* Preaching against this and related sins forms a considerable part of the *Catholic Homilies,* the subject being also treated in the *Canons* and the *Pastoral Epistle.* A number of phrases occur: *his flæsclican lustas,* i. 96, 3; ii. 374, 21; *hyra unlustas,* i. 148, 27; *derigendlice lustas,* i. 256, 19; *mid yfelum lustum,* i. 270, 5; *þa unalyfedlican lustas,* ii. 346, 11; *on middaneardlicum lustum,* ii. 368, 3; *þæs lichaman lustas,* ii. 374, 20; *ure unlustas* (our evil desires), i. 156, 12; *unlustas* (wicked lusts) *gebringað þone man to forwyrde,* i. 164, 1. The term *lust* occurs, with varying shades of meaning, in the sense of pleasure: *ða hwilwendlican lustas,* i. 164, 11; *geond mislice lustas,* i. 168, 13; 410, 32; *ða gewilnigendlican lustas,* ii. 398, 30. Compound forms in the sense of pleasure appear in: *on lustfullunge,* i. 174, 31; *gelustfullunge, loc. cit.,* 33; *þurh woruldlicum lustfullungum,* ii. 392, 35; etc.

92. Another term for lust is *gālnyss,* 'goleness.' Less common than *lust,* it occurs in expressions like: *his galnysse gefyllan,* i. 148, 23; *swiðor for bearn-teame þonne for galnysse,* ii. 70, 20; *þære flowendan galnysse,* i. 118, 14; *buton galnysse wanunge,* i. 94, 33; *ða hohfullan galnysse,* ii. 324, 5; etc. Aelfric lists *gālnyss* as the second of the eight chief sins: *se oðer is galnyss,* ii. 218, 22. A corresponding reference to the eight chief sins appears in *Lives of Saints,* 16, 267 ff. Here, as in the *Catholic Homilies, gālnyss* is listed as the second sin: *Se oðer leahtor is forliger and ungemetegod galnyss. Se is gehaten fornicatio, loc. cit.,* 276-277. Cf. ii. 220, 3: *Se oðer heafod-leahter is gecweden forliger oððe galnyss.* Compared with *lust, gālnyss* often has the sense of libidinousness. Related in meaning are *ontendnyss,* literally 'kindling,' in *ælc gallic ontendnys,* ii. 156, 35; and *sōftnys,* literally 'softness,' in *þa sceortan softnysse* (the brief voluptuousness), i. 164, 10.

93. The above statements show that in some cases Aelfric regards *gālnyss* as synonymous with *forliger,* fornication. The latter form is used in several instances to denote adultery, fornication:

þæt eowere wif healdon hi wið forligre, ii. 322, 28; *befrinan hwa þæt forligr gefremode,* ii. 492, 1; etc. The term *forliger* is also used for adulterer, fornicator. Thus we find: *God soðlice fordemð ða dyrnan forliras,*[7] *and ða unriht-hæmeras on helle fordeð,* ii. 324, 7. In the above passages Aelfric distinguishes between fornicators and adulterers, the latter being expressed by *unrihthǣmeras.* In the everlasting fire (*on ecum fyre*), adulterers shall suffer torment with adulterers (*forligras mid forligrum*), i. 132, 22.

94. In certain contexts *forliger* means adultery, which is expressed by *ǣbrice.* The relationship between the OE. terms is close, as the following show: *he is forlir ðurh his æwbrice,* ii. 208, 17. The form for adulterer is *eawbræce, ǣwbreca.* Aelfric on the evil separation of married persons quotes Christ: *"Swa hwa swa his æwe* (lawful wife) *forlæt, and oðer genimð, he bið þonne eawbræce and eac forligr,"* ii. 322, 33-34. The term *eawbræce* is occasionally applied to women, in the sense of adulteress: *heo bið soð eawbræce,* ii. 324, 2. The form *unriht-hǣmere,* applied to men, appears in: *bið unriht-hæmere gehaten,* ii. 322, 35; ii. 324, 8; etc.

95. A form, which in some instances Aelfric treats as synonymous with lust, is *gǣlsa,* luxury, lust. Cf. OHG. *geilsunga.* The primary meaning is luxury, as in i. 544, 27: *woruldlice estas and gælsan.* With transferred sense *gǣlsa* means lust: *ealle middaneardlice gælsan forhogiað,* ii. 70, 24. The word is quite rare in Aelfric. Cf. *gǣlsa, an*; m. a glutton.

96. Somewhat related to the unclean lusts is gluttony, which Aelfric expresses by *ofer-ǣt,* literally 'over-eating.' Cf. OHG. *ubarāzi.* In describing the future torments of the unrighteous, Aelfric states that the teeth, which now rejoice in gluttony (*þa teð, þe nu on ofer-æte blissiað*), shall there grate in unspeakable torments, i. 530, 32. Another term is *oferfyll,* Goth. *ufar-fullei.* Cf. L. *crapula.* The form is not of frequent occurrence in the *Catholic Homilies,* but appears as subordinate to *gyfernys,* greediness. Greediness, as the first chief sin (*Se forma heafod-leahter is gyfernyss,* ii. 218, 20), is defined thus: . . . *þæt se man ær timan hine gereordige, oððe æt his mæle to micel ðicge, mid oferflowendnysse ætes oððe wætes, loc. cit.,* 30. This sense of *gȳfernys,* i.e. greediness for food, is, of course, synonymous with gluttony. Cf. Skeat 16, 268-270. The OE. term has varying shades of meaning, e.g. voracity and avidity, as

[7] The forms *forlīr, forlīras* illustrate the disappearance of the consonant with compensatory lengthening of the vowel.

passages, applied to Herod and Christ, respectively indicate. *Him was metes micel lust* (craving), *ac ðeah mid nanum ætum his gyfernysse gefyllan ne mihte,* i. 86, 6; *Crist ne æt mid gyfernysse, ne he ne dranc mid oferflowendnysse, ne his eagan ne ferdon worigende geond mislice lustas,* i. 168, 11-13. This passage illustrates, incidentally, Aelfric's advocacy of temperance to his contemporaries. One of the sins born of *gȳfernys* is *oferfyll,* gluttony. *Of ðisum leahtre beod acennede oferfyll, and unclænnys lichaman. . . .* ii. 218, 32.

97. Greediness, as appears from Aelfric's statement, leads to other sins, among which is drunkenness (*druncennys*). That the Anglo-Saxons often drank to excess is evident from the exhortation of Aelfric to his friend Sigferd, to whom he dedicated his *Treatise on the Old and New Testament.*[7] Aelfric argues that Christ in the gospels forbids excessive drinking (*þone oferdrenc*) among all believing men. Drunkenness is included among the sins that lead a person to perdition, (ii. 592). The close relationship between related sins appears from various passages in the homilies. *Druncennys is cwylmbære ðing, and galnysse antimber,* i. 604, 25; *on oferætum and druncennyssum, loc. cit.,* 21; etc. The form *oferdrenc,* excessive drinking, is less common. Constant drunkenness (*singal oferdrenc*) is listed among the deadly sins, ii. 592, 6.

98. There remains for consideration a number of the grosser and more common sins, as theft, murder, etc. Under *peccata operis* the following sins might be listed: *æfter manslihte,* ii. 398, 5; ii. 592, 4; *cyrc-bræce,* ii. 592, 4; *æfter reaflace,* ii. 398, 4; ii. 592, 6; etc.; *æfter stale,* ii. 398, 4; *fram fullicum and leahterlicum hrepungum* [sins of the senses], ii. 374, 7; *hefigtyme leahter is ungefoh fyrwitnys* (immoderate curiosity: i.e. a sin of the five senses), ii. 374, 3.

99. Idolatry, sorcery, and witchcraft (*hæðengyld, drȳcræft, wiccecræft*), which are listed with the deadly sins (ii. 592), might be classified under sinful works. These subjects are given a rather full treatment, especially in the second series of the *Catholic Homilies,* which, among other subjects, treats legend and the history of the church.

100. Aelfric, already in his homily on creation, which is the first homily in the first series, tells about the establishment of idols. Mankind, deceived by the devil, made and worshipped images

[7] Grein-Wülker, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 21, ll. 29-38.

(*anlīcnyssa*) of gold, silver, and stones, i. 22. Other terms for idols occur, as *hæðengyld,* ii. 18, 23; *ðis hæðengyld deofles biggeng* (worship) *is,* i. 72, 4; etc. It also appears in the abstract sense idolatry: *Iulianus ða ongann to lufigenne hæðengyld,* i. 448, 30; etc. Heathenism, in the sense of heathen worship, is expressed by *hǣðenscipe.* It appears as synonymous with idolatry in *to heora hæðenscipe,* i. 70, 25; ii. 18, 35; etc. The forms *dēofolgyld,* idol; and *dēofolgylda,* idolater, occur: *þa deofolgyldan,* i. 70, 23; *Ic . . . ðam leasum deofolgyldum wiðsace,* i. 422, 1; etc. That the devil is associated with idols and idolatry appears not only from the term, i.e. *dēofolgyld,* but also from several passages. In the homily *The Passion of St. Bartholomew the Apostle,* which indicates that, on the subject of magic, ideas similar to those of pagan times were still flourishing in England during Aelfric's day, he tells how St. Bartholomew went to India and went into the temple of the idol Ashtaroth (*to ðam deofolgylde Astaroð*), i. 454, 22. A devil dwelt in the image, who spoke to people through the image and practiced magical healing. Aelfric identifies the devil with the idol, for he states that the devil Ashtaroth became dumb when the apostle entered the temple. Instances of devils dwelling in statues are, of course, numerous in medieval literature.

101. A term for magic, sorcery, is *drȳcræft.* The medieval church recognized its existence and condemned it as evil. Magic was regarded as having its origin with the devil, and was one of the things against which the church had to contend. Several passages illustrate the diabolical nature of sorcery: *forfleon ðæs deofles drycræft,* i. 376, 9; *heora deofles cræft,* ii. 472, 16; *mid heora drycræfte,* ii. 472, 15. Sorceries, i.e. material equipment, is occasionally expressed by the same term: *genam ealne his drycræft,* ii. 418, 3. A sorcerer, wizard, appears in OE. as *drȳ,* also *drȳmann*: *twegen drymenn,* ii. 472, 15; *þone dry,* i. 376, 10; *eac swylce drymen,* ii. 330, 27. The sorcerer (*drȳ*) was thought to have fellowship with the devil (*ðoftrædene to ðam awyrigedan deofle*), ii. 416, 14; and is called the devil's minister (*þone deofles ðen*), i. 374, 16. Theophilus, deceived by magic, entered into a compact with the devil (*wrat his hand-gewrit þam awyrgedan deofle, and him mannrædene befæste,* i. 448, 14-15.

102. Similar in meaning to *drȳcræft* and *drȳ,* are *wiccecræft* and *wicce.* The latter forms are comparatively rare in Aelfric. Thus we find: *æt ænigum wiccecræfte,* i. 474, 22; *wiccecræft* [dead-

ly sin], ii. 592, 7; *feondlice wiccan,* ii. 330, 28. A related term is *scīncræft,* magic art. Thus: *mid mislicum scyncræfton,* ii. 482, 4; *drymen, þe mid dydrunge* (illusion) *farað, and feondlice wiccan and oðre wigeleras, beoð to helle bescofene for heora scincræftum,* ii. 330, 27-29; *þæra drymanna scincræft,* ii. 486, 22.

103. Divinations, charms, auguries, terms applying to magic, are denoted by *wīgelung.* Cf. *wigeleras,* ii. 330, 28. The vain, diabolical, unlawful nature of this activity is evident from examples: *menigfealde wigelunga,* i. 100, 20; *mid deoflicum wiglungum* (charms), i. 102, 15; *to unalyfedlicere wiglunge* (charm), i. 476, 4; *mid ydelum wiglungum* (auguries), i. 102, 19. For enchantment, the form *galdor* appears. The characteristically ecclesiastical attitude towards it appears from the qualifying adjective: *æt wyrigedum* (accursed) *galdrum,* i. 474, 21. The idea of the magic rune is apparent in that the runes are occasionally regarded as virtually equivalent to witchcraft. Aelfric mentions an incident where an alderman asked the captive whether he broke his bonds through witchcraft or through runes (*ðurh drycræft oððe ðurh runstafum*), ii. 358, 11.

C. Peccata Oris

104. Basing his figure upon the biblical account of the dead youth of Nain, "who was borne in sight of many men," Aelfric indicates the gravity of sinful words: *Se mann ðe tosæwð ungeþwærnysse betwux cristenum mannum, oððe seðe sprecð unrihtwisnysse on heannysse, ðurh his muðes geat, he bið dead geferod,* i. 492, 14-16. While the above denotes a specific kind of sin, the passage exhibits one large division, namely sins "through his mouth's gate." *Peccata Oris* are, of course, basically connected with sins of the heart and hands. In some instances sinful words appear as subordinate to, and developed from, the other two major types.

105. Idle speeches, with varying shades of meaning, are denoted by *īdele sprāca.* These are listed as light, in contrast to the chief, or deadly, sins. *Þa leohtan gyltas sind ydele spræca. . . . . and þæt man cyde buton steore intingan, oþþe oðrum olæce mid leasre lyffetunge, oððe man biddendne ðearfan misræce . . . .,* ii. 590, 20-25. Chiding, except for correction; false flattery; and reviling of the imploring poor are, as Aelfric states, light sins. Obscene speech (*fracodlic sprāc*), is a sin which results from the chief sin, fornica-

tion (*forliger*), ii. 220. 'Babble,' a minor offence resulting from slothfulness, is expressed by *wordlung,* ii. 220, 26.

106. Idle obscenity (*ȳdel gaffetung*) is one of the offences which result from greediness for food and drink, i.e. gluttony. ii. 218, 34. The primary sense is 'scoffing.' Thus we find: *Se ðe forlæt bysmorlice spellunga* (opprobrious speeches) *and talu, and derigendlice gaffetunga* (injurious scoffings) . . . . i. 306, 2; *begað derigendlice gafetunge,* i. 330, 34.

107. Leasing, an activity often attributed to the devil, appears in OE. as *lēasung.* The Eighth Commandment (*þæt eahteoðe bebod*) Aelfric interprets as forbidding leasing (*wiðcweð leasunge*), ii. 208, 29. Cf. *ða dwollican leasunga* (heretical books), ii. 444, 29. False witness is listed with the deadly sins: *leasgewitnyssa,* ii. 592, 5; *æfter leasgewitnysse,* ii. 398, 4. Aelfric advises merchants that they hold truth (*þæt hi soðfæstnysse healdon*), that they refrain from deceptive oaths (*swilcole aðas*), but that they praise their goods without hateful perjury (*buton laðre forsworennysse*), i. 328, 7-9. God will destroy cheaters and liars (*ða swicolan and leasan*), *loc. cit.*, 10.

108. The form *wyriung* expresses curse, malediction, which a man directs against others, often at the instigation of the devil. Cf. ii. 30. Cursing others endangers a person's own soul (ii. 36, 2); furthermore, "our tongues were shaped for praises of God, and for rational speeches, not for devilish cursings" (*na to deofollicum wyriungum*), ii. 36, 6. Cf. *ða wyrigendan,* ii. 34, 26. The subject is of course related to magic.

109. Aelfric uses *tāl* to denote calumny. Sin against the Deity is expressed by it: *ac þæs Halgan Gastes tal ne bið næfre forgifen,* i. 498, 23; *þæt he ænig word oððe ænig tal cweðe ongean eowerum Gode,* i. 20, 28; etc. The more common meaning, calumny, is apparent from: *Modignys . . . acenð . . . yfel-sacunge, ceorunge and gelomlice tala,* ii. 222, 8; etc. *Talu,* whose primary sense is tale, story, has in certain contexts the sense of calumny: *þæt se Ælmihtiga God gehyre ða talu ðe Syria cyning asende to hospe and to edwite his micclan mægenðrymme,* i. 568, 27; *se ðe forlæt bysmorlice spellunga, and talu,* i. 306, 2.

110. The scorn, mockery, and contumely which Christ suffered in connection with his passion are expressed by *hosp.* Thus we find: *he* [Christ] *forfleah na þæt edwit* (reproach) *and þone hosp, þaþa ða Iudeiscan hine woldon on rode ahon,* i. 162, 12; *gif he . . .*

nolde heora hosp forberan, i. 226, 10; *þæra cempena hosp* (mockery of the soldiers), ii. 254, 3. The term *hosp* is applied to secular men in i. 56, 11: *menigfealde earfoðnyssa and hospas. Bismer*, derision, infamy, is rare in the homilies. The form appears in the account of Samson's destruction by his foes, i. 226, 31: *to bismere his gefaan* (in derision of his foes.) Cf. Skeat 23b, 336: *þæt bismor minra worda.*

D. Peccata Cordis

111. The phrase, *swa swa digelne leahter on menniscre heortan lutigende*, i. 496, 18, characterizes the third major group—"secret sins lurking in the human heart." From the nature of sins of the heart, our thoughts (*ūre geðōhtas*) play an important part. Sinful or evil thoughts are expressed by several epithets: *hyre yfelan geðohtas* (the evil thoughts of the sinful soul), i. 410, 6; *ða unalyfedlican* (unallowed) *geðohtas*, i. 410, 14; *mid ðwyrlicum* (perverse) *geðohtum hogað oðrum dara*, i. 412, 28.

112. Pride, the cause of the devil's fall, Aelfric expresses by *mōdignyss.* It is listed as the eighth chief sin (*eahteoða modignyss*, ii. 218, 23; ii. 220, 33; ii. 592, 6), and is the beginning of every sin (*modignyss is ælcere synne anginn*, i. 550, 2). Cf. ii. 220, 34: *Se leahter is ord and ende ælces yfeles.* Several of the offences derived from pride belong under *peccata oris*: *Þes leahtor acenð forsewennysse and ungehyrsumnysse, andan and yfel-sacunge, ceorunge and gelomlice tala*, ii. 222, 6-8. Cf. i. 212, 31: *þæt sind ða modigan* (the proud) *ðe hi onhebbað ofer heora mæðe* (above their degree). Another term for pride is *ofermētto.* Less frequent than *mōdignyss*, the form appears in a reference to the fall of the devil and his host: *and hi ealle ædræfde of heofenan rices myrhðe, and let befeallan on þæt ece fyr, þe him gegearcod wæs for heora ofermettum*, i. 12, 3-5. The form *gylp*, pride, occurs a number of times, and is regarded as a deadly sin (*gilp is an heofod-leahter*), i. 124, 4. *Ydel gylp*, vainglory, is likewise a chief sin, Aelfric designating it, in one list, as the seventh chief sin (*seofoða ydel gylp*), ii. 218, 22; ii. 592, 6. In the sense of boasting, an offence that might be classified under *peccata oris*, the phrase, *mid idelum gylpe*, i. 176, 22, appears. Pride in the sense of vainglory and pomp appears from Aelfric's definition. *Se seofoða heafod-leahter is gehatem idel-wuldor, þæt is gylp oððe getot, þonne se man gewilnað þæt he hlisful sy, and cyrten . . .*, ii. 220, 26-29. Offences of a similar nature result from

it. *Of ydelum gylpe bið acenned pryte and æbilignys, ungeðwærnys and hywung, and lustfullung leasre herunge, loc. cit.*, 31-33. The form *prȳte,* rare in Aelfric, gives NE. pride. Cf. ON. *prȳði* gallantry.

113. With varying shades of meaning, as pride, haughtiness, arrogance, the term *ūpāhefednys* occurs. A trait of the devil is haughtiness, the cause of his fall: *þurh þa miclan upahefednysse,* i. 12, 22; *for his upahefednysse,* i. 16, 30; etc. In his exposition of the gospel story of the rich man and Lazarus, Aelfric states that the parsimony and pride (*uncyst and ūp-āhefednys*) of the former sank him into quick torment (*on cwycsusle*), i. 328, 26. Other occurrences are: *mid ormætre up-ahefednysse* (arrogance), ii. 432, 30; *nan upahefednys ne costnað þone geheredan* [exhaltation, as having a pernicious effect on the one praised], ii. 560, 20. The form *tōðundennys,* arrogance, is rare; the poor, mentioned in the beatitudes, have no arrogance (*nane toðundennysse nabbað*), i. 550, 1.

114. Covetousness (*gȳtsung*), sometimes acompanied by pride (i. 164, 3), appears in various forms and is a deadly sin, ii. 218, 21; ii. 592, 6. It is the root of all evils (*seo gytsung is ealra yfelra ðinga wyrtruma*), i. 256, 17; and several offences result from it. *Of ðisum leahtre beoð acennede leasunga and andan, facn and reaflac, stala and forsworennys, leas gewitnyss and unmæðlic neadung,* ii. 220, 10-12. Forms of covetousness appear from the illustrative phrases: *seo gitsung ðæra æhta,* i. 394, 13; *woruldlicere gitsunge,* ii. 210, 1; *ða feondlican gytsunge,* ii. 462, 9; *and gytsunge begange and modignysse,* i. 164, 3; etc. Related in meaning is *ymhīdignys, ymbhȳdignys,* solicitude, or care: often for earthly things. Aelfric preaches against this type of solicitude: *we sceolon ða ymhydignysse fram us awurpan,* ii. 462, 12; *ealle woruldlice ymbhydignysse,* i. 346, 19.

115. Envy, *anda,* is a pernicious vice (*derigendlic leahter,* i. 606, 2), and is also listed with the deadly sins. ii. 592, 6. The devil felt great anger and envy toward Adam and Eve in their state of "original righteousness" (*micelne graman and andan to ðam mannum*), i. 16, 32. Envy multiplies anger: *se anda gemenigfylt yrsunge,* i. 606, 7. Aelfric mentions two kinds of jealousy, good and evil, the former being jealousy against evil, in contrast with jealousy against good. i. 54, 22. The OE. form *nīð,* malice, envy, is rare. The importance of love and absence of malice in his heart (*ðone*

swartan nið on his heortan) for the pentitent sinner is stressed in the exposition of the First Petition. i. 54, 13. This conception is basic in any consideration of sin, especially sins of the heart. The Jews censured Christ from envy (*of niðe*), i. 338, 24.

116. The righteous anger of God was considered in its relation to the divine attributes. The Latin *ira* is rendered in OE. by *grama, an*; m. That anger is regarded by Aelfric as a sin appears from the list of sins which the wicked man, despising God's commandments, commits in fulfilling the devil's will. Among them is anger: *oððe ðurh graman, oððe ðurh oðre leahtras,* i. 172, 19. The form *wēamēt,* anger, wrath, is classified as the fourth deadly sin (*feorða weamet*), ii. 218, 21. Aelfric defines this sin as failure to control's one's mind, and giving vent to anger without any foresight. Uproar, irritation, fool-hardiness, and murder are accompanying offences. Here as elsewhere Aelfric's advocacy of moderation and temperance is apparent. Related meanings have *æbilignys, hātheortnys, biternys*: *mid gedrefedre æbilignysse* (anger), ii. 24, 28; *æbilignys* [irritation, resulting from vainglory], ii. 220, 32; *mid swyðlicere hatheortnysse* (fury), i. 426, 12; ii. 30, 17; *þa biternysse his heortan gestilð,* i. 306, 6. *Yrsung,* anger, is quite rare: *to ænigre yrsunge,* i. 592, 3; *se anda gemenigfylt yrsunge,* i. 606, 7.

117. Greediness (*gȳfernys*), previously treated under gluttony, needs, perhaps, little further comment. *Grādignys,* greediness, appears in a good and bad sense. Thus: the greediness with which we receive the word of life (*mid grædignysse,* ii. 280, 16); and *awyrtwala* (root up) *grædignysse of ðinre heortan,* ii. 410, 1; *grædignys is . . . wyrtruma ælces yfeles,* ii. 410, 3.

118. Sinful or worldly desires appear in OE. as *gewilnunga.* Thus we find, *flæsclice gewilnunge,* i. 188, 22; 320, 25; *ðurh unalyfedlice gewilnunga,* i. 530, 31; *unrihtwisre gewilnunge,* ii. 210, 1; *on woruldlicum gewilnungum,* ii. 550, 24. Cf. i. 118, 9: *ðurh heofenlice gewilnunge.*

119. Aelfric names discontent as the fifth chief sin (*fifta unrotnys*), ii. 218, 21. It involves discontent of this world, and a resulting discontent with God for the misfortunes of this life. Resultant offences are 'evilness,' pusillanimity (*wacmodnys*), bitterness of heart, and despair of one's self (*his sylfes orwennys*), ii. 220, 19. The form has in some cases the sense of sorrow (*buton unrotnysse*) ii. 452, 11; etc.

120. Aelfric's corrective teaching is apparent in the selection and exposition of the chief sins. Sluggishness or aversion (*āsolcennyss oððe ǣmelnys*) is listed as the sixth chief sin. ii. 218, 22. During the trying times of the Danish invasions, when the Danes were repeatedly paid off with money, such preaching against sluggishness was not amiss. Some men are thought meek, Aelfric states, but their mildness is, in truth, sloth and ignorance. ii. 46, 12. Sins resulting from sloth are idleness, sleepiness, petulance, babble, rambling, and idle curiosity. ii. 220, 25.

121. Infidelity (*gelēaflȳst*), and disbelief (*ungelēaffulnyss*), might also be treated here. Both forms appear, to express lack of faith and unbelief. Thus we find: *ealle geleaflystu,* i. 226, 2; *þurh geleaflæste,* i. 320, 25; *heora ungeleaffulnys,* i. 300, 35; *þæra Iudeiscra ungeleaffulnysse,* i. 48, 19; etc. Cf. *ðæra ungelyfedra* (of the unbelieving); *ofer ealle ða ungeleaffullan* (over all the unbelieving), i. 470, 9.

CHAPTER IV

THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION

122. This subject covers the major phases of the doctrine of salvation, such as predestination, the person and work of Christ, justification, and the appropriation of salvation by the individual. An exhaustive study of doctrinal problems as they appear in Aelfric's *Homilies* is not the scope of this study, which aims to treat doctrinal terms. Dietrich's study of the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church according to Aelfric's works still remains basic and authoritative.[1]

123. Predestination was briefly discussed in its relation to divine prescience (Cf. Par. 9). Little further needs perhaps be said regarding Aelfric's views on this subject except that he follows St. Augustine and St. Paul. A study of the terms will indirectly reveal Aelfric's chief views on predestination. God's providence appears, as a literal translation of the Latin original, in OE. as *forescēawung*. Thus we find: *mid Godes foresceawunge*, i. 92, 23; *ðurh heora Scyppendes foresceawunge*, ii. 462, 28; *seo gecorennys stent on Godes foresceawunge*, ii. 524, 25. Another term, rendering the Latin form *praedestinatio*, is OE. *forestihtung*. Noun and verb forms appear: *æfter ðissre forestihtunge*, ii. 364, 29, 33; *be us cwæð se ylca apostol Paulus, þæt we wæron forestihte, ðus writende, "Quos autem predestinauit, illos et uocauit," loc. cit.*, 33-35; *Ða ðe he forestihte, þa he eac clypode him to*, ii. 366, 1; *bið forestiht on ðam ecan life*, ii. 534, 14; *Se bið dead ecum deaðe, seðe is forestiht to ðam ecum deaðe*, ii. 232, 33; *he ne forestihte nænne to yfelnysse*, i. 112, 29. Predestination involves election (*gecorennys*) and reprobation (*wiðercorennys*). Thus: *ðurh gecorennysse*, i. 330, 8; *be Godes hæse and gecorennysse*, i. 388, 16; *þære witegena gecorennys*, i. 540, 22; etc.; *ðurh wiðercorennysse and leahtrum heora ðwyran lifes*, ii. 290, 19. Corresponding nominal forms are *gecora* and *wiðercora*: *gehwylce ðwyrlice wiðercoran*, i. 468, 5; *wiðercora þurh weorc*, i.

[1] Eduard Dietrich, "Die Lehren der angelsächsischen Kirche, nach Aelfriks Schriften," C. W. Niedner's *Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie*, Vol. 25 (1855), pp. 550-594.

530, 5; *of eallum ðeodum his gecorenan gegaderode,* i. 32, 31; *þa gecorenan sind Godes bearn,* i. 324, 15; *Godes gecorenan,* ii. 430, 28; *twa gecorenra manna, twa wiðercorenra* [i.e. of the assemblages at judgment day], i. 396, 17; etc. Predestination involves conceptions of destiny and free will. Aelfric does not believe that the course of the stars governs a person's destiny (*þurh heora ymbryna him wyrd gelimpe,* i. 110, 8), for, he says, destiny is nothing but a false imagination, i. 114, 13. *Wyrd, gewyrd,* prominent in Anglo-Saxon literature since heathen times, has, by Aelfric's time, lost much of its earlier fatalistic meaning. Cf. *wyrdwriteras,* i. 80, 6; 454, 17, 'historians.' Free will, previously considered, is expressed by *cyre,* and *diht.* Illustrative are: *let hi habben agenne cyrre,* i. 10, 19; *forgeaf him agenne cyre,* i. 110, 35; *we beoð forlætene to urum agenum cyre,* i. 210, 8; *hit stent þurh Godes gyfe on urum agenum dihte hu us bið æt Gode gedemed,* i. 52, 32.

A. The Person and Work of Christ

124. Christ's grace, the only means through which man is saved, was prepared and preordained, before the foundation of the world, to last for ever, i. 114. The person of Christ has been discussed in connection with the Trinity and the persons of the Godhead. There is, of course, much expository material regarding the divinity and humanity of Christ included and repeated throughout the *Catholic Homilies.* As every man exists (*wunað*) in soul and in body one man, so also Christ exists in divine nature and in human nature (*wunað on godcundnysse and menniscnysse*) in one person one Christ (*on anum hade an Crist*), i. 40, 19-22. The divine nature is not mixed with the human, but remains distinct, as the white of an egg is not mingled with the yolk. i. 40. Cf. ii. 8, 7, etc.

125. Terms pertaining to Christ's divinity have been considered in the treatment of the persons of the Godhead and the nature of the Trinity. Several terms pertaining to Christ's incarnation, not previously included, might be mentioned here. In most cases the expressions are self-explanatory. Thus we find: *Crist underfeng menniscnysse on his* [*þæs Halgan Gastes*] *to-cyme,* i. 324, 24; *mæden ær geeacnunge, mæden on geeacnunge, mæden æfter geeacnunge,* i. 546, 9; *se Halga Gast . . . is genemned to ðære fremminge Cristes menniscnysse,* i. 196, 22; *þæt Godes Sunu sceolde beon acenned of hire, buton weres gemanan,* i. 24, 25; *gereccan þæs Hælendes acennednysse,* i. 28, 32; *he alysde us fram ure sawla synnum ðurh*

anfenge ures flæsces, i. 122, 30; *his flæsclicnysse, loc. cit.,* 28; *Crist sylf is mannes Bearn, seðe is anes mannes Sunu, þære eadigan Marian* (Christ is the son of one man, i.e. of Mary), ii. 106, 31; *seo wurðfulle sand* [Christ's coming to earth], i. 194, 17; . . . *se come þe ða ealdan æ sette* (who should confirm the old law), i. 94, 4; *seðe* [John the Baptist] *mid witegunge Cristes to-cyme bodode,* i. 542, 1; *seðe is God and mann on annum hade, seðe gearcode ðurh his tocyme us ða ecan feorme* (the eternal feast) *on his rice,* ii. 372, 3.

126. The work of Christ, as Redeemer of the world (*Alysend ealles middaneardes*), is expressed by *ālȳsednes,* redemption. Verb and noun forms appear. Thus we find: *for ure alysednesse,* i. 24, 15; *to mancynnes alysednysse,* i. 194, 17; *for middangeardes alysednysse,* i. 382, 11; *middangeardes alysednysse ðurh his ðrowunge,* i. 586, 33; *eal mancynn þa ðe gelyfað mid his agenum deaðe alysan fram hellewite,* i. 26, 28-29; *we wurdon alysede, þurh his unscyldigan deað, fram ðam ecan deaðe,* i. 292, 7; *for middaneardes life,* ii. 202, 7; etc. The OE. terms reflect the meaning of the Latin original *redemptio,* a buying back, releasing. A form, rare in Aelfric, is *edstaðelung* restoration, i.e. redemption: *mancynna Ealdor, for ure edstaðelunge þære rode gealgan underfeng,* i. 588, 19. The work of redemption is occasionally couched in figurative language. *Crist ıs se soða dæg, seðe todrœfde mid his to-cyme ealle nytennysse þære ealdan nihte, and ealne middangeard mid his gife onlihte,* i. 36, 28-30. In contrast we sometimes find brevity and directness: *Cristes ðenung is ure hæl and folca alysednys,* ii. 586, 33.

127. Christ's passion appears in OE. as *þrōwung.* Thus we find: *aras of deaðe . . . on þam þridden dæge his þrowunge,* i. 28, 5; *æfter his ðrowunge,* i. 44, 15; etc.; *Ðeos tid . . . is gecweden Cristes ðrowung-tid,* ii. 224, 24; *þære halgan ðrowunge, loc. cit.,* 32. In a secular sense the form appears in the sense of suffering: *þa þrowunga þyssere tide,* i. 486, 25; etc. Other terms relative to Christ's passion are: *Iudan belœwinge,* ii. 244, 22; *þa gefœstnodon Iudei hine on rode gealgan,* i. 588, 16; *þære halgan rode gerynu, loc. cit.,* 18; *ðone ðyrnenan helm,* ii. 254, 10; *ðurh nearunysse his ðrowunge,* ii. 284, 27; *to seðunge soðre godcundnysse* [when betrayed], ii. 248, 2.

128. Christ's resurrection and ascension are expressed by *ārist* and *upstīge.* Illustrative are: *on ðam feowertigoðan dæge his œristes he astah lichamlice to heofonum to his Fæder,* i. 220, 23;

his æriste of deaðe, i. 146, 3; *on ðisum drihtenlicum æriste,* ii. 282, 33; *his upstige to heofenum,* i. 146, 3; *be his upstige,* ii. 16, 30; *mid his upstige is adylegod þæt cyrographum ure geniðerunge, and se cwyde ure brosnunge is awend,* i. 300, 6. The harrowing (*hergung*) of hell, a theme treated in the Anglo-Saxon version of the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, though rare in Aelfric, occurs in: *Hell oncneow Crist, ðaða heo forlet hyre hæftlingas ut, þurh ðæs Hælendes hergunge,* i. 228, 17; *His lic wæs bebyrged, and he on ðam fyrste helle gehergode, and aras siððan, on ðam ðriddan dæge, of deaðe,* ii. 608, 1-2.

129. The chief terms designating Christ's redemptive work were considered in a previous paragraph. There are, however, expressions and allusions that characterize Christ as still active in serving the chosen ones. The sinful state of mankind previous to Christ's work of redemption is apparent from a number of passages, several of which might be given. Human weakness at the advent of His incarnation is expressed by *tyddernys.* Thus: *ure tyddernys,* ii. 6, 29; ii. 88, 21; *ðurh mennisce tyddernysse,* i. 548, 3. Human weakness is thus contrasted with divine might. Before redemption we were foredone (*forwyrhte*), ii. 22, 4. Through sins we were estranged from God, and mankind had discord with angels before the Lord's nativity. i. 38, 14. Aelfric often succeeds in bringing the exposition of the doctrine of redemption close to his audience or readers by applying it to his own time and his own people. We have, Aelfric states, cast off pernicious old age (*þa derigendlican ealdnysse,* i. 194, 15) through Christ's redemption. Using as sources St. Paul and Isaiah, who are quoted, Aelfric states that, through Christ, all our former enmities are abolished (*ða ærran feondscipas,* i. 106, 18); Christ "took away our diseases (*ure adlunga*) and bore our pains" (*and ure sarnyssa he sylf abær*), i. 122, 31. When telling the parable of the lost sheep, Christ is characterized as the heavenly leech (*se heofenlica læce*), who would, with a pleasant parable, heal the swelling of their hearts (*þæt geswell heora heortan*), i. 338, 26. The Lord gives spiritual food (*þone gastlican fodan*), i. 184, 10. The admonition of the Lord to chosen men might be mentioned as a phase of Christ's work. Thus St. Cuthbert, through the monition of the Mighty Lord (*ðurh halige myngunge Mihtiges Drihtnes,* would end his life in that land where he had passed his days.

B. Subjective Conditions Necessary for Salvation

130. The person and work of Christ have been discussed in connection with the nature of God, the persons of the Godhead, and the doctrine of redemption. From the standpoint of the individual, these phases of Christian doctrine are objective. With respect to the relationship between God and mankind, there are several conceptions pertaining to salvation, which are, to a degree, subjective. Among these are conversion, regeneration, justification, and penance.

131. Conversion is rendered in OE. by *gecyrrednyss,* which is a literal translation of the Latin original. The literal sense of a 'turning' to God appears in *seo gecyrrednys to Gode,* i. 114, 9; and, in the case of verb forms, *gebigde to Gode ealne þone eard Asiam,* i. 68, 34; *gecyrre to lifes wege,* i. 370, 13; *þæt he gecyrre fram synnum and lybbe,* ii. 602, 14. Aelfric's skill is apparent here, as elsewhere, in giving a realistic and practical exposition of the abstract notions of conversion. This appears from his use of concrete words like way, entrance, and the notion of turning, in a physical sense. Thus we find: *gecyrrað nu . . . to lifes wege,* ii. 78, 13; *Geopenige ure sarnys us infær soðre gecyrrednysse,* ii. 124, 7; *geefenlæce he Paules gecyrrednysse,* i. 56, 24. The close relationship between conversion and repentance appears from *to yldigenne agenre gecyrrednysse* (repentance), i. 350, 16; *gecyrre to lifes wege* [i.e., by repentance], i. 370, 13.

132. Regeneration, L. *regeneratio,* appears in Aelfric as *edcynning.* While the form is rare in the *Catholic Homilies,* Aelfric's views appear in a passage which treats birth, baptism, and the common resurrection, each of which is characterized as a birth (*acennednys*), i. 394, 25 ff. The second birth is spiritual, when we are regenerated at the holy baptism (*ðonne we beoð ge-edcennede on ðam halgan fulluhte*), *loc. cit.,* 30. Jesus, Aelfric states, called the common resurrection regeneration (*Edcynninge he het þæt gemænlice ærist, on ðam beoð ure lichaman ge-edcynnede to unbrosnunge, loc. cit.,* 25). In baptism our sins are forgiven us, through the grace of the Holy Spirit (*ðurh ðæs Halgan Gastes gife*), *loc. cit.,* 31.

133. To justify, i.e. declare or make free from the penalty of sin, is expressed in OE. by *gerihtwīsian.* The relationship of justification to other doctrines appears from the excerpts: "*Ða ðe he*

forestihte, þa he eac clypode him to; and ða ðe he him to clypode, ða he gerihtwisode, and ða ðe he gerithwisode, þa he gemærsode'' [from St. Paul], ii. 366, 1-3; *he eode ham gerihtwisod,* ii. 430, 2; *eal mennisc wæs synfull, ac Drihten gerihtwisode, buton geearnungum, ðurh his gife, ða ðe he geceas,* ii. 472, 2-3. The importance of faith, which is the first work and the first will (*þæt fyrmeste weorc and se fyrmesta willa*), is apparent from several passages. Quoting Christ, Aelfric gives the Latin original, which he renders: *''þæt is Godes weorc, þæt ge on ðone gelyfon þe he asende,''* ii. 412, 4. Faith (*gelēafa*) is a great virtue (i. 250, 28), and we are redeemed from eternal death if we rightly believe in the true Redeemer (*gif we rihtlice gelyfað on ðone soðan Alysend ealles middaneardes, Hælend Crist*), ii. 266, 3. Additional material might be given to show the importance of faith, which is the first of all virtues (i. 134, 2), and the first work (ii. 412, 5). The role of grace and deserts (*geearnunge*) in justification is apparent from ii. 472, 2-3 (quoted above). Aelfric preaches brotherly love to his contemporaries (i. 52), and states briefly the place of works in justification: . . . *hit is awriten, þæt ða ne beoð rihtwise getealde mid Gode, þa ðe buton weorce his boda gehyrað; ac ða beoð rihtwise getealde, þe mid weorcum his geboda gefyllað,* ii. 286, 2-5. Further consideration of the doctrine of works is given in the next chapter.

134. The doctrine of penance, related to conversion, is treated at some length in *De Penitentia,* ii. 602 ff. The three parts of penance are *contritio,* repentance, or sorrow for sin; *confessio,* from *confiteor,* acknowledgment of guilt or wrong doing; and *satisfacio,* i.e. penitential works.

135. Sorrow for sin is denoted by *behrēowsung.* (Cf. *hrēowan* to rue). Different forms with similar shades of meaning occur: *be hreowsunge,* i. 68, 17; *nane behreosunge nabbaþ,* i. 234, 4; *bereowsung,* ii. 124, 31. Forms of personal agency appear in: *þæra behreowsigendra heortan,* i. 550, 32; *God behet ælcum behreowsigendum his synna forgifennysse,* ii. 602, 28; etc. Verb forms also appear: *gif he his synna mid wope behreowsiað,* i. 292, 24; *his synna mid dædbote behreowsað,* i. 340, 19; etc. Similar in meaning is *hēofung,* lamentation. Thus we find: *mid eadmodre heofunge,* i. 342, 14; *fram ðisum dæge oð Eastron is ure heofung-tid and bereowsung-tid ure synna,* ii. 86, 25; *to heofungum soðre behreowsunge gecyrran mæge,* ii. 124, 13; *to heofunge soðre dædbote,* ii. 124, 20. Contrasted with *behrēowsung, hēofung* often describes the out-

ward manifestation of the former. The term *onbryrdnyss* occurs in the sense of compunction, feeling of sorrow or regret for sins. Aelfric advocates that a man should, under certain conditions, pray shortly, with compunction and repentance (*mid onbryrdnysse and behreowsunge*), ii. 430, 5. Cf. Skeat 30, 382: *mid wope and onbryrdnysse þancunge dydon.* The term appears in other contexts in Aelfric in the sense of fervor, stimulation, etc.

136. Confession is rendered by the native OE. term *andetnys*; the verb form *geandettan* also appears. Cf. *halige andeteras,* ii. 558, 24. A necessary factor in confession is the confessor, the OE. term being *scrift.* In the *Catholic Homilies* the term *scrift, es*; m. is applied to the confessor, the person who passes the sentence; the primary meaning is, however, what is prescribed as punishment, a penalty, penance. *Scrift* occasionally has the sense of penance imposed after confession: *æt þam seofoðan stæpe. VII. pund to bōte . mid godcundan scrifte* (for the seventh degree, VII. pounds for 'bot,' with ecclesiastical shrift).[2] *Scrift* in the sense of confession followed by penance occurs in: *Æghwylc cristen man . . . gewunige gelome to scrifte & unforwandodlice his synna gecyðe* (Let every Christian man accustom himself frequently to shrift, and fearlessly declare his sins).[3] The chief details of confession are described by the expressions: *for anrædnysse his andetnysse,* i. 368, 13; *mid soðre andetnysse Godes mildheortnysse secþ,* i. 494, 17; *synna andetnys,* ii. 428, 31; *Uton awurpan ðurh andetnysse and behreowsunge þa forð-gewitenan yfelu,* i. 604, 7; *cume forði gehwa cristenra manna to his scrifte, and his diglan gyltas geandette,* i. 164, 26; "*Ælc ðæra þe me andet ætforan mannum . . .*" ii. 558, 27; *we sceolon ure gymeleaste and forgægednysse urum gastlicum scrifte geandettan,* ii. 98, 29; etc.

137. The conception of penance, i.e. *satisfacio,* is conveyed by *dǣdbōt.* The form generally means *poenitentia,* although varying shades of meaning, such as repentance, penance, and penitence, appear. Related forms are *bētan,* to make amends, to atone for; and the uncompounded noun *bōt,* amends, reparation. The verb *dǣdbētan,* to be penitent, do penance, also occurs. Thus we find: *his synna mid dædbote behreowsað,* i. 340, 19; *butan he mid soðre dædbote gecyrre to lifes wege,* i. 370, 13; *on soðre dædbote þurh-*

2 Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes,* p. 394.

3 "The Laws of King Ethelred," Thorpe, *op. cit.,* p. 132.

wunað, i. 498, 20; *gif he deð dædbote*, i. 498, 25; *dædbote ne gewyrcð*, ii. 316, 31; *to soðre dædbote gecyrrað*, ii. 398, 5; ii. 560, 34; etc. Illustrative of *bētan*, to make amends, *dǣdbētan*, do penance, and *bōt*, reparation, are: *bete swa him his scrift tæce*, ii. 94, 9; *his sawle wunda dædbetende gelacnian*, i. 124, 14; *ure Drihten Iesus Christus, seðe is soð Sacred, gelæt þa dædbetendan, æfter soðre dædbote, to ðære uplican Hierusalem*, ii. 68, 23-25 *embe ða bote*, i. 274, 11; *him is bot alyfed and geswicenys*, ii. 96, 14; etc. Detailed provisions for *bōt* appear in "Of Ecclesiastical Compensations, Or 'Bōts'."[4] The form *fyrst* is illustrative of the new meanings that native words assume to express the new conceptions of Christianity. In a secular sense the term expresses a space of time, as: *geond feowertigra daga fyrst [Crist] him mid wunode*, i. 28, 6. In contexts regarding confession, penance, the sense is respite: *mid micclum hreame fyrstes biddan*, i. 414, 13; *ðylæs ðe he mid sleacnysse forleose ða tid Godes fyrstes*, i. 350, 16; etc.

138. The purification (*clǣnsung*) effected by penance (*dǣdbōt*) means a change of attitude in the individual, he being vigilant in hope, in true love, and in good works without vainglory. Penance is given as the third of three principal means which God has appointed to men for purification, the other two being baptism and the housel. ii. 48. The importance of cessation from evil and the practice of good works is evident from Aelfric's statement: *þridde is dædbot, mid geswicennysse yfelra dæda, and mid bigencge godra weorca, loc. cit.*, 27. The doctrine of good works, important in its relation to faith and penance, is given considerable attention in the *Catholic Homilies* and is treated in the next chapter.

C. The Means of Grace

139. The means of grace are the word of God and the sacraments.[5] Aelfric's love and reverence for the Gospel appear from several excerpts. *Godspel is us to gehyrenne, and ðearle lufigendlic*, i. 302, 8; *Anfeald neod us is, þæt we ða boclican lare mid carfullum mode smeagan*, ii. 284, 24-25; *settað eowerne hiht on ðam Hælende, and on ðam wordum þe he be us eallum spræc ærðan ðe he heonon*

[4] Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, pp. 393-394.

[5] In the only passage where Aelfric discusses the sacraments he names three: baptism, the housel, and penance. *Þreo healice ðing gesette God mannum to clænsunge: an is fulluht, oðer is husel-halgung* [apparently a clerical error for *husel-gang*], *þridde is dædbot, mid geswicennysse yfelra dæda, and mid bigencge godra weorca*, ii. 48, 26-28.

siðode, ii. 370, 5-6; etc. In spite of the numerous mystical interpretations found in the *Catholic Homilies,* simple, practical, and to a certain degree realistic expositions, such as the Anglo-Saxons might readily comprehend, abound. The explanation of the gospel story of the five loaves and the two fishes comes close to Aelfric's audience: *Nu sceal gehwa, seðe wile sittan æt Godes gereorde, and brucan þære gastlican lare, oftredan þæt gærs and ofsittan, þæt is, þæt he sceal ða flæsclican lustas gewyldan, and his lichaman to Godes þeowdome smyle gebigan,* i. 188, 24-27. Similarly, Aelfric's exposition of the story of the five talents savors of realism in that evangelical doctrine, a conception more or less abstract to the Anglo-Saxons, is characterized as God's money. *Godes feoh, þæt is, seo halige lar,* ii. 554, 13. The form *lār,* whose Latin equivalent, according to Aelfric, is *doctrina,*[6] illustrates the numerous meanings that an OE. abstract noun may assume. Secular and doctrinal meanings are counsel, doctrine, lore, instruction, precept, learning, teaching. Thus we find: *þurh ðæs deofles lare,* i. 18, 8; *ongean his lare,* i. 26, 21; *ða halgan lare,* i. 296, 20; *ða gastlican lare,* i. 186, 32; *mid ðære diglan lare,* i. 188, 9; *mid Godes lare,* i. 190, 2; *he sceal habban lare* [learning, applied to a teacher], i. 206, 26; *to fulre lare,* i. 296, 25; *dwollic lar,* i. 368, 28; *þurh Petres lare,* i. 374, 31; *þa boclican lare,* ii. 96, 3; *seo dihle lar,* ii. 396, 10; etc. Compounds are *lārēowdōm,* instruction; and *lārēow,* teacher.

140. Aelfric often refers to the teachings of the Old Testament, which he calls 'the old law' (*sēo ealde ǣ*). Thus occur: *on þære ealdan æ,* i. 138, 15; *Cristene men ne moton healdan nu ða ealdan æ lichamlice,* ii. 264, 26; *þa boclican gewritu aspyrian, hu hi to Criste belimpað,* ii. 284, 29; *seo Ealde Gecyðnys wæs witegung and getacnung fram Adame oð Johannem Baptistam,* ii. 70, 33. The form *gecȳðnys* is applied to the Old and the New Testament, its meaning being testimony. Thus: *swa seo Ealde Gecyðnys ætforan ðære Niwan,* i. 354, 35; *seo Niwe Gecyðnys is soðfæstnys ðurh ðæs Hælendes gife,* i. 356, 1; etc.

141. The role of baptism in the process of purification Aelfric summarizes as: *Þæt fulluht us aþwehð fram eallum synnum, se huselgang us gehalgað, seo soðe dædbot gehælð ure misdæda,* ii. 48, 29-30. The sacraments, instituted by God for the cleansing of sins, are according to Aelfric three, penance being included with bap-

[6] Julius Zupitza, *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar,* Berlin, 1880, p. 304, l. 14: *doctrina* lār.

tism and the housel. From a standpoint of the study of the terminology of baptism, its doctrinal relationship to regeneration is important. Cf. Par. 132. The terms employed and, to a certain extent, doctrine are apparent from the passages: *mid fulluhte gehalgode,* i. 72, 8; *Iohannes se Fulluhtere gefullode on wætere,* i. 294, 25; *æfter ðam fulluht-bæðe,* i. 422, 5; *Cristes fulluht,* ii. 48, 10; *ure fulluht, loc. cit.,* 9; *he bið eft Criste acenned . . . þurh fulluht,* ii. 12, 7; *þurh forespræce þæs godfæder,* ii. 52, 2; *þæt halige wæter ures fulluhtes, þe ure synna adilegað,* ii. 60, 5; etc. Infant baptism is justified, the infants being saved through the faith of adults: *þæt man ða unsprecendan cild fullige, and hi beoð gehealdene þurh oðra manna geleafan,* ii. 50, 20-22. Another means of purification is penance, through which sins committed after baptism are forgiven. i. 292, 22 ff.

142. The doctrine of the housel, which Aelfric treats in his famous homily *Sermo de Sacrificio in die Pascae,* has been the subject of much controversy since the Reformation, and several writers, Catholic and Protestant, have expressed their views regarding it. While the terms pertaining to the housel often reveal phases of its doctrine, an exhaustive treatment of Aelfric's doctrinal views on the subject is beyond the scope of this study. As representatives of the Catholic and the Protestant views, Lingard and Soames might be named.[7] Dietrich aims to assume an impersonal and objective attitude towards the question.

143. From the arrival of Augustine until the Reformation, the name for the Eucharist was housel. Lingard contrasts the earlier and later meanings: "Sacrament denotes a sacred sign; but housel implies a victim of sacrifice."[8] According to Lingard, the Anglo-Saxons before their conversion used *hūsel* to denote a victim of sacrifice; after their conversion they transferred the term to the Christian sacrifice of the mass. The older meaning of the word (*hūsel*) is seen from the Goth. *hunsl,* a sacrifice; *hunslian,* to sacrifice. This would indicate that OE. *hūsel* must have belonged to the old Anglo-Saxon vocabulary before the introduction of Christianity. In addition to the simplex *hūsel,* the verb form *gehūslian*

[7] John Lingard, *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,* London, 1858. Henry Soames, *An Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in Eight Sermons.* . . . Oxford, 1830. Eduard Dietrich, "Die Lehren der angelsächsischen Kirche, nach Aelfriks Schriften," *op. cit.*

[8] John Lingard, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 298.

and compounds occur. Thus we find: *hi* [*þa apostoli*] *halgodon hlaf and win to husle eft siððan on his gemynde,* ii. 268, 2-3; *we ðicgað nu gastlice Cristes lichaman, and his blod drincað,* ii. 266, 16-17; *Godes husel,* ii. 176, 10; *fram ðam halgum husle ascyrede,* ii. 174, 22; *his gastlica lichama, ðe we husel hatað,* ii. 270, 21; *he* [St. Benedict] *het hine beran into cyrcan, and þær hine ge-huslian,* ii. 186, 29; *æfter þære huslunge,* ii. 548, 9; *On ðisum life we behofiað . . . husel-ganges,* i. 270, 29; *æfter þam halgan husel-gange,* i. 510, 3; *se gastlica hlaf is þæt halige husel,* i. 266, 7; *husel-halgung,*[9] i. 54, 27; etc. Other terms for the housel are *gereord,* feast; and *mǣnsumung,*[10] communion: *be ðam liflicum gereorde,* ii. 262, 30; *hi underfengon þa halgan mænsumunge æt Gode,* ii. 174, 31. The holy housel, Aelfric states, is called a mystery, because one thing is seen therein and another thing is understood (*þæt halige husel is gehaten gerynu*), ii. 270, 27. Several terms express the purpose, partaking, and efficacy of the housel: *þæs halgan husles þigene mid geleafan underfon, us to synne forgifennysse and to gescyldnysse deofellicera costnunga,* ii. 98, 33-35; *ðurh ðæs halgan husles þygene us beoð ure synna forgyfene,* i. 266, 8; *we behofiað ðæs halgan husles ðygene for use beterunge,* i. 270, 35; etc.

144. In concluding our study of the doctrine of salvation, which largely centers around the person and work of Christ, it seems proper, as a transition to the treatment of Christian virtues and works, to list virtues which are specifically applied to Christ. Divine attributes, it will be recalled, were treated in Chapter I. The virtues here mentioned will supplement the conception formed of Christ from an examination of the nature of the Trinity, the list of epithets applied to Christ, and the work of redemption. The chief virtues appear in the following expressions, most of which are self-explanatory: *seo miccle mildheortnys ures Drihtnes,* i. 112, 19; *ærest he wolde us mid liðnysse styran, þæt he siððan mihte on his dome us gehealdan,* i. 320, 10; *to geswutelunge his unscæððignysse,* ii. 248, 2; *Cristes mildsunge,* ii. 78, 23; (Cf. Skeat 5, 200: *Crist mæg þine nytennysse . þurh his miltsunge onlihtan*); *he wæs drohtnigende on ðisre worulde mid bilewitnysse, and unscæððig-*

[9] Thorpe observes that *husel-halgung* in the expression, *an is fulluht, oðer is husel-halgung, þridde is dædbot,* ii. 48, 26, is apparently a clerical error for *huselgang* (ii. 611).

[10] *Mǣnsumung, mǣnsumian,* have as secular meanings 'fellowship,' 'to have fellowship with'; doctrinal meanings are 'participation,' 'to partake of the Eucharist.'

nysse, and gesibsumnysse, i. 320, 14; *ures Drihtnes manðwærnysse,* ii. 226, 9; *micel wæs Cristes eadmodnys,* ii. 40, 30; *þurh Cristes geðyld,* i. 170, 31; etc. The significance of these virtues in Aelfric's corrective work among his contemporaries becomes apparent from the fact that Aelfric stresses the observance of virtues, which he attributes to Christ, in matters of morals and conduct. Illustrative of this is patience (*geðyld*), which, according to Aelfric, is a great virtue in holy life (*soðlice geðyld is micel mægen on haligre drohtnunge*), ii. 92, 24. Patience is the root and safeguard of all holy virtues (*ealra haligra mægena*), ii. 544, 5. The moral and ethical import of these virtues attributed to Christ becomes increasingly apparent when we recall that virtues like gentleness, peacefulness, and patience, are not, as divine attributes, regularly attributed to the Deity, to the same extent, and with the same frequency, that omnipotence, eternity, infinity, and righteousness, are, in formal doctrinal tracts, attributed to God.

CHAPTER V

CHRISTIAN VIRTUES, QUALITIES, AND WORKS

A. Christian Virtues

145. Christian life implies a turning from sin, and an observance of God's commands, with accompanying virtues and good works. The Latin term *virtus,* originally denoting courage, is rendered in OE. by *mægen,* virtue. The notion of turning from vices to virtues is apparent from a number of contexts and passages. *We sceolon . . . us sylfe mid godum weorcum geglengan, . . . and ða ðing onscunian ðe Crist forbytt, þæt sind leahtras and deofles weorc; and ða ðing lufian ðe God bebead, þæt is, eadmodnys, and mildheortnys, rihtwisnys, and soðfæstnys, ælmes-dæda and gemetfæstnys, geþyld and clænnys,* ii. 22, 4-11; *farað fram leahtrum to mæignum,* ii. 54, 26. A few representative passages may be quoted; the term *mægen* often appears, however, in contexts where specific virtues are mentioned. Thus we find: *Gif ge wilniað þæt ge rice beon, lufiað þa soðan welan, þæt sind halige mægnu,* ii. 88, 34; *gestranga hi on halgum mægnum,* ii. 478, 11; *þurh ðas seofan mægnu* [the sevenfold grace of the Holy Spirit] *bið þæt ece lif geearnod,* ii. 292, 24; etc. The form *miht* (*meaht*), literally 'might,' is, in addition to the sense of power (i. 342, 27), used for virtue. *Þurh þæt gold we understandað geleafan and god ingehyd, . . . ðurh þa deorwurðan gymstanas, halige mihta* (holy virtues), ii. 588, 35; *Swa swa of anum treowe springað manega bogas, swa gað of anre lufe manega oðre mihta,* ii. 314, 20-21; etc. Another general term for virtue is *ðēaw,* which has several meanings in Aelfric. In the sense of moral virtues, we find *þe mid heora þeawa stæpum Drihtne filiað,* i. 120, 31. Somewhat related in meaning is the notion of conduct and morals, each of which is expressed by the plural: *mid æðelum þeawum* (exalted morals), i. 96, 32; *his þeawas* (conduct), i. 494, 21; ii. 76, 21; *awendað eowre ðeawas* (change your conduct), i. 618, 22; *Þisum heafod-leahtrum we sceolon symle on urum ðeawum* (conduct) *wiðcwedan,* ii. 222, 9. The compound *unðeaw* denotes vice, wickedness: *wið oðrum unðeawum,* ii. 550, 25; *ealle unðeawas he towyrpð on his gecorenum mannum,* i. 144, 31; *þæt*

hi þæt dysig (folly) *and ða unðeawas* (evil practices) *alecgan,* i. 268, 3; etc. Expressing conduct, the course of life, etc., the form *drohtnung* might be mentioned. The meanings having a bearing on the subject of Christian virtues are listed: *Smeage gehwilc man his ærran dæda, and eac his andweardan drohtnunge* (his present conduct), i. 350, 17; *gif heo [seo sawol] mid carfulre drohtnunge* (conduct) *Godes mildheortnysse secð,* i. 496, 32; *manega halige bec cyðað his* [Gregory's] *drohtnunge* (conduct) *and his halige lif,* ii. 116, 29; *mid godre drohtnunga godes rice geearnian,* Skeat 28, 122; *mid leahterfullre drohtnunge* (by a sinful life), i. 514, 25; *fram godre drohtnunge* (for good living), i. 306, 11; etc. The primary sense, *vitae conditio,* appears in *þæt he full hal sy his drohtnungum,* i. 126, 2.

146. From the standpoint of religion and ethics, love, as a Christian virtue, is given considerable space in the *Catholic Homilies.* It occupies a definite place in the program of salvation (ii. 318, 26-29) and in Aelfric's moral teaching. Stress is placed upon the importance of true love to God and men by words and works: *Ealle godnyssa forlyst se ðe ða soðan lufe næfð to Gode and to mannum,* ii. 556, 17. Representative excerpts might be quoted: *ða soðan lufe, seo is ealra mægna mæst,* i. 250, 27; *ac se goda Heofonlica Fæder forgifð us geleafan, and hiht, and ða soðan lufe,* i. 252, 35; *seo soðe lufu is gefyllednys Godes æ,* i. 346, 13; ii. 522, 16; *seo soðe lufu is wylspring and ordfruma ealra godnyssa and ædele trymnys,* i. 52, 13; *heardmodnys is wiðerræde soðre lufe,* i. 252, 19; *nele eac God us syllan heardheortnysse for soðre lufe,* i. 252, 34. The last two passages illustrate Aelfric's moral teaching. The form *lufu* sometimes expresses, in contrast with virtuous love, worldly and carnal love: *getacnað woruld-lufe,* i. 514, 21; *fram ðyssere andweardan woruld-lufe,* i. 580, 3; *na for gecnyrdnysse goddre drohtnunge, ac for flæsclicere lufe,* i. 532, 32.

147. OE. *ege,* fear, awe, assumes a new meaning when it is used in reference to God, the original sense of terror, dread, being modified to dread mingled with veneration, reverential fear. Cf. Goth. *agis,* L. *timor.* Illustrative of the term, which is not common in Aelfric, are: *Ða wæs þa sume hwile Godes ege on mancynne æfter þam flode,* i. 22, 17; *þonne sceole we him bringan twa turtlan . . . þæt is twyfealdlic onbryrdnes eges and lufe* (a twofold affection of awe and love), i. 140, 16; *he [se halga Gast] us gefylð mid Godes ege,* i. 326, 15.

148. The Christian virtue of humility is expressed in OE. by *ēadmōdnys.* Cf. L. *humilitas.* The weak noun *ēadmōda,* the humble, also occurs. Referring to the fall of the devil and the creation of man, Aelfric continues, . . . *þæt se eorðlica man sceolde geþeon and geearnian mid eadmodnysse þa wununga on heofenan rice,* i. 12, 27. Other passages are: *micel wæs Cristes eadmodnys,* ii. 40, 30; *he* [God] *ahof ða eadmodan,* i. 202, 30; etc. Related in meaning are *gemetfæstnys* and *bilewitnys.* Thus: *Petrus eac se apostol tihte geleaffulle wif to eadmodnysse and gemetfæstnysse,* i. 98, 2; *he* [*Crist*] *was drohtnigende on ðisre worulde mid bilewitnysse, and unscæððignysse, and gesibsumnysse,* i. 320, 14; *Ne bið seo bilewitnys Gode gecweme butan snoternysse, ne seo snoternys butan bilewytnysse,* i. 320, 35.

149. Faith, previously mentioned in doctrinal relationships, is according to Aelfric the first of virtues (*Geleafa is ealra mægena fyrmest*), i. 134, 2. Other excerpts might be given: *micel mægen is geleafa,* i. 250, 28; *þreo halige mægnu . . . þæt is, geleafa, and geðyld, and eadmodignyss,* ii. 114, 4; etc. Compound forms occur, as: *swa swa se þeoda lareow Paulus cwæð, to geleaffullum,* i. 96, 35; *eal mancyn wæs . . . ablend mid geleaflæste,* i. 154, 20.

150. Mercy as a Christian attribute is stressed in a lengthy passage (ii. 102, 3-23). The OE. form is *mildheortnys,* which Aelfric treats in connection with the giving of alms. *Mildheortnyss is synna læcedom; heo alyst fram ðam ecan deaðe, and ne geðafað us þæt we to forwyrde becumon. Mildheortnys ana gemundað us on ðam micclum dome, loc. cit.,* 3-5; *we sceolon lufian mildheortnysse,* i. 162, 27; etc. *Miltsung, mildsung,* also occurs, as: *his miltsunge biddende,* i. 74, 7; *Cristes mildsunge,* ii. 78, 23; etc.

151. Honesty, piety, and goodness are expressed by *ārfæstnys,* and *ēawfæstnys, religio, pietas.* The two forms are not of frequent occurrence in the *Catholic Homilies*; the following passages are illustrative: *lufiað þa tacna ðe sind sinderlice godra manna, þæt synd soðre lufe and arfæstnysse tacna,* i. 306, 29; *þa dyde se aðum swa mid ormætre geomerunge and wope, and syferlice mid byrnende arfæstnysse,* ii. 26, 3; *he*[*Martialis*] *onscunode micclum cristenra manna eawfæstnysse* (religion), ii. 24, 23; *hi* [*Martha and Maria*] *wæron gecyrrede to micelre eawfæstnysse* (piety) *ðurh Cristes lare and wundrum,* ii. 438, 18.

152. Aelfric's advocacy of temperance and moderation is reflected in *forhæfednys,* restraint; and *gehealdsumnys,* abstinence.

Forhæfednys, continentia, abstinentia, appears in contexts with varying shades of meaning, each of which is apparent from the excerpts: *gif we ða flæsclican lustas þurh forhæfednysse cwylmiað,* i. 118, 11; *we moton ælce dæg ures metes brucan mid forhæfednysse,* i. 178, 18; *þonne beoð þa six and ðritig þæs geares teoðing-dagas us to forhæfednysse getealde, loc. cit.,* 25; *twa forhæfednysse cynn syndon, an lichamlic, oðer gastlic,* i. 360, 11; *on micelre forhæfednysse modes and lichaman* [said of Drihthelm], ii. 350, 1; etc. The form *gehealdsumnys, custodia, abstinentia,* is rare: *Æfter ðære gebysnunge wurdon arærede munec-lif mid þære gehealdsumnysse* (abstinence), i. 318, 9.

153. Similarly employed is *clǣnnys,* purity, chastity. Among the miscellaneous matter that concludes the *Catholic Homilies* is a brief statement regarding chastity, with special reference to the Lenten fast. *Læwedum mannum is to witenne, þæt hi sceolon healdan heora clænnysse on halgum timan,* ii. 608, 19. Consistent with the notion that the devil is foul, unclean, as was previously shown, foulness is associated with sins or a sinful state; purity and chastity are combating virtues. Thus we find: *se ðe in fulnyssum* [in sins] *wunað,* i. 484, 18; *we sceolon ure unclænnysse and ure yfelnesse symle adwæscan,* i. 138, 30; *Ac seo menigfealde earfoðnys wæs his sawle clænsung,* i. 330, 18; *on clænnysse modes and lichaman,* i. 178, 33; *he [Se hǣlend] is ord and anginn ealra clænnyssa, and him is seo clænnys swiðe lufigendlic mægen,* i. 308, 27. The conditions of the times apparently justified Aelfric's advocacy of temperance and chastity, these virtues being stressed in the *Catholic Homilies,* and other works, such as the *Canons* and the *Pastoral Epistle.*

154. The importance of patience in Christian life, a virtue which is given considerable space in the *Catholic Homilies,* is in harmony with Aelfric's calming and corrective influence. This appears from the comparatively frequent recurrence of *geðyld,* the significant position it occupies among the virtues (*geðyld is wyrtruma and hyrdræden ealra haligra mægna, and ungeðyld is ealra mægna tostencednys*), the extended exposition on patience (ii. 544-548), and the brief prayer, *De Patientia,* ii. 600. Other passages are: *þurh Cristes geðyld,* i. 170, 31; *se ðe ungeradum oððe ungeðyldigum* (impatience) *styrð* (corrects), i. 306, 5; *Petres geðyld,* i. 380, 27; *Se halga Andreas soðlice of ðære rode gehyrte ðæra geleaffulra manna mod, tihtende to hwilwendlicum geðylde,* i. 596, 26; *Soðlice*

geðyld is micel mægen on haligre drohtnunge, ii. 92, 24; *Swa ageaf þes goda mann* [*Gregorius*] *his wæstm Gode þurh geþyld,* ii. 98, 11. Thus Aelfric concludes his account of the activities and death of Gregory, who yielded his fruit to God by patience, and afterwards went to the field of reward (*to edleanes æcre becom, loc cit.,* 13).

155. Other Christian virtues might be given, like hope, righteousness, and truth. Hope is a great virtue (*micel* [*mægen*] *is se soða hiht*), i. 250, 29; *þone halgan hiht* [of salvation], i. 250, 11; etc. The following statement will serve as a summary of Aelfric's conception of Christian virtues, and as a transition to the treatment of Christian works: *Gif we hine* [*se weig, seðe læt to heofenan rice*] *habban willað, we sceolon lufian mildheortnysse, and clænnysse, and soðfæstnysse, and rihtwisnysse, and eadmodnysse, and habban soðe lufe to Gode and to mannum, and don ælmessan be ure mæðe, and habban gemet on urum bigleofan, and gehwilce oðere halige ðing began,* i. 152, 27-32.

B. Christian Qualities

156. The *Catholic Homilies* contain a number of terms for abstract qualities, attitudes, and states, several of which are but remotely related to the general conception of Christian qualities; yet the inclusion of the terms in the *Catholic Homilies* is, in many respects, illuminating. Thus we find: *hi habbað þrittig fealde mede for hyra gesceadwisnysse* (discretion), i. 148, 23, etc.; *se lareow Beda telð mid micclum gesceade* (discretion), i. 100, 14, etc.; *oððe hwa gitsunge mid rumgifulnysse, butan strece?* [Aelfric questions whether covetousness can be exchanged for munificence without violence], i. 360, 6; *oððe hwa druncennysse mid syfernysse* (soberness), *loc. cit.,* 5; *Soðlice gemagnys* (perseverance) *is þam soðan Deman gecweme, þeah ðe heo mannum unðancwurðe sy,* ii. 126, 2; *Lamb we offriað on Godes lace, gif we unscæððignysse on urum ðeawum* (morals) *symle healdað, and þa unsceadwislican styrunga on stæððignysse awendað* (if we turn irrational perturbations into steadiness), ii. 210, 29-31; *gemetegung* (moderation) *is eallra mægna modor,* Skeat 1, 164; *"mid heortan anfealdnysse* (simplicity) *secað hine* [God] *georne,"* ii. 320, 35; *þæt hi heoldon ða tid mid micelre arwurðnysse* (veneration), i. 312, 7; *þa cristenan ða sigefæste mid micelre bylde* (confidence) *and blisse ham gecyrdon,* i. 506, 8; *Uton nu forði mid ealre estfulnysse ures modes* (devotion of mind) *ðas mæran freols-tide wurðian,* i. 446, 28; *hi wurdon onlihte þaþa hi*

Godes beboda to weorce awendon, þurh ða cumliðnysse (hospitality), ii. 286, 2; *mid ænigre carfulnysse* (carefulness), i. 408, 29; *On sumun gecorenum mannum, ðe mid micelre gimene* (care) *on andweardum life drohtniað,* i. 346, 8; *ne mihton awecgan Iob of his modes anrædnysse* (the steadfastness of his mind), ii. 456, 5; *God lufað annysse* (unity) *and gepwærnysse* (concord) *on his folce,* i. 272, 22; *to ðam dom-bocum þe se Heofenlica Wealdend his folce gesette to some* (concord), *and to sehtnysse* (reconciliation), *and to rihtlæcunge ealra forgægednyssa* (for the correction of all transgressions), ii. 198, 18-20; *þa hlafordas he* [*se mæra apostol*] *manode þæt hi milde wæron heora ðeowum mannum mid þæslicnysse* (to be mild to their serving-men with reasonableness), ii. 326, 27; *and ðu on urum freondscipe beon mage* [Aegeas to St. Andrew], i. 594, 3; *"na for freondrædene* (friendship), *ac for his unstilnysse"* (clamour), i. 248, 34.

157. The medieval conception of life as a conflict between virtues and vices, a view admirably presented in the morality play *Everyman,* is similarly developed in Aelfric. In spite of the difference in chronology—approximately five centuries—which separates the *Catholic Homilies* from *Everyman,* the extant editions of which date from the early sixteenth century, the two come into closer relationship when we recall that the sermons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries contained the same matter, with no great difference in tone, as those of Aelfric.[1] In Aelfric's opinion, vices must be overcome with the corresponding virtues. *We sceolon oferwinan ærest gifernysse mid gemetegung ætes and wætes; forliger oððe galnysse mid clænnysse, swa þæt se læweda his æwe healde, and se gehadoda Godes ðeow symle on clænnysse wunige, swa swa se canon him cuðlice secgð. We sceolon oferwinnan woruldlice gytsunge mid cystignysse ures clænes modes, and weamette mid wislicum geðylde, and woruldlice unrotnysse mid gastlicere blisse, asolcennysse mid soðre anrædnysse, ydelne gylp mid incundre lufe, modignysse mid micelre eadmodnysse,* ii. 222, 15-24. Similarly Aelfric finds that the kingdom of heaven is earned with force and violence (*mid neadunge and strecum*), i. 358, 35, and that a person cannot overcome vices with virtues, without violence and compulsion. i. 360, 1-10.

158. A study of abstract Christian qualities involves some at-

[1] W. P. Ker, *English Literature Medieval,* New York, 1912, p. 56.

tention to Aelfric's denunciation of vices. This aspect has already been considered in the treatment of sins. Sluggishness (*āsolcennys*) has been previously described as the sixth chief sin, ii. 218, 22. The term *ungecnyrdnys,* rare in OE., appears in the sense of negligence, lack of industry. Very many there are, Aelfric states, in God's church who, through lack of industry (*þurh ungecnyrdnysse*), imitate the servant who received one talent. ii. 554, 1. Folly and ignorance are associated with sloth and negligence. The same people who imitate the slothful servant dread to journey on the ways of life (*to gefarenne lifes wegas*), yet they are not ashamed to lie in the folly of their sloth (*to licgenne on stuntnysse heora asolcennysse*), ii. 554, 2. Ignorance (*nytennys*) has been mentioned in former contexts. Some men are thought meek (*bilewite*), but they are slack (*sleace*); they appear with mildness, but their mildness is in truth sloth and ignorance (*ac heora liðnys is soðlice asolcennys and nytennys*), ii. 46, 12. Other passages indicative of Aelfric's recognition of the presence of, and his attitude toward, ignorance might be given: *Þeos woruld is afylled mid nytennysse,* i. 248, 2; *Hwæt getacnað seo midniht buton seo deope nytennys?* ii. 568, 5; *þæt men for nytennysse misfaran ne sceolon,* ii. 314, 5; *Crist mæg þine nytennysse þurh his miltsunge onlihtan,* Skeat 5, 200; etc. The form *uncȳðð,* which is rare in the *Catholic Homilies,* occurs in the sense of ignorance. We are very remote from Christ, Aelfric states, both locally and through ignorance (*ægder ge stowlice ge durh uncyððe*), i. 106, 21. Somewhat related to ignorance and sloth is 'idle security.' Choosing as his text *Cum audieritis praelia et seditiones, nolite terreri: et reliqua,* Aelfric in treating prophecies pertaining to the termination of the world, says that the stillness of worldly peace we turn to idle security (*to ydelre orsorhnysse*), ii. 540, 8. Preaching on the same subject in the first series, i. 608 ff., Aelfric emphasizes the importance of the Biblical passages which contain the prophecies: *Mine gebroðra, þas ðing sind awritene þæt ure mod ðurh wærscipe wacole beon, þæt hi ðurh orsorhnysse ne acleacion, ne ðurh nytennysse geadlion* (that through security they slacken not, nor through ignorance become void), i. 610, 16-18.

159. To express folly, stupidity, Aelfric uses several expressions: *dwæsnys, stuntnys, gewitlēast, ungerād, þæt dysig.* The content of the passages reveals Aelfric's varied message to his contemporaries: "*Ic wende þæt þu on nihtlicere smeagunge sceoldest ðin mod fram*

dwæsnysse awendan,'' [Aegeas' words to St. Andrew in prison], i. 592, 25; *forðan ðe he* [Eli] *ne styrde heora* [*his bearna*] *stuntnysse ær,* ii. 326, 9; *to licgenne on stuntnysse heora asolcennysse,* ii. 554, 3; *Ac ðaða Crist com to mancynne, þa awende he ure stuntnysse to gerade* (reason) *and ure unclænnysse to clænum ðeawum* (pure morals), i. 208, 19; *''ðu, earming, eart geancsumod on ðinre gewitleaste,''* [St. Lawrence to the emperor Decius], i. 424, 16; *his wifes gewitleast* [said of Job's wife], ii. 456, 4; (Cf. ii. 452, 31: *Iob hire andwyrde, þu spræce swa swa an stunt wif*); *Se ðe ungeradum* (thoughtlessness) *oððe ungeðyldigum styrð . . ., he afyrsað þa næddran, forðan ðe he adwæscð þa yfelnyssa his modes,* i, 306, 5; *Fela dyslice* (foolish) *dæda deriað mancynne. oððe for anwylnysse oððe for ungerade* (want of thought), Skeat 13, 92; *Is hwæðere getæht, æfter Godes gesetnysse, þæt wise men sceolon settan steore dysigum mannum* (wise men should institute correction for foolish men), *swa þæt hi þæt dysig* (their folly) *and ða unðeawas* (evil practices) *alecgan,* i. 268, 1-3. The term *þæt dysig,* consisting of the definite article and the adjective, and expressing an abstract idea, is of interest.

C. Good Works

160. The relationship of good works to faith and Christian virtues has been briefly indicated. The doctrine of good works, significant also in modern times, was an important part of Christian life and worship during the Middle Ages, and Aelfric's views are typical of the traditional conception of good works as a necessary part in the attainment of salvation. The terms for works or deeds in OE. are generally modified by the qualifying adjective, to express the theological conception of 'good' works. The OE. term *geearnung,* earning, desert, more completely expresses independently the notion of reward for good works, but *geearnung* is often modified to express 'good' or 'evil' deserts. Hence occur: *yfele geearnunge,* i. 260, 14; *ðurh gode geearnunga,* i. 294, 8; *ðurh wurdscipe heora geearnunga* [applied to the angels, who are close to God], i. 344, 5; etc.

161. OE. *weorc,* work, appears in a number of contexts; the relationship of good works to other doctrines is apparent from the passages: *Se gastlica hlaf is Godes bebod, þæt we sceolon . . . mid weorce gefyllan,* i. 264, 25; *''Se geleafa ðe bið butan godum weorcum, se bið dead''* [Aelfric quotes St. James], i. 302, 33; *Eft he*

cwæð, "Hwæt fremað þe þæt ðu hæbbe geleafan, gif ðu næfst ða godan weorc? . . .," loc. cit., 35; *on arfæstum weorcum,* i. 412, 7; *Be swylcum cwæð se Hælend, "Hi underfengon edlean heora weorca," loc. cit.,* 8; *mid yfelum weorcum,* ii. 42, 11; *tihtað eower mod to gecnyrdnysse godra weorca, þæt ge mid geðylde godne wæstm to Godes handa gebringon, þæt ge . . . þæt ece lif habban moton,* ii. 98, 18-20; *ac ða beoð rihtwise getealde, þe mid weorcum his boda gefyllað,* ii. 286, 5; *Swa eac ðe ne fremað, þeah ðe ðu þa halgan lare gehyre, butan ðu hi to godum weorcum awende,* ii. 402, 4; *mid bigencge godra weorca,* ii. 48, 28; *mid hlysan godra weorca,* i. 222, 4; *mid tihtinge and gebisnungum godra weorca,* i. 306, 12; etc.

162. OE. *dǣd* is often, with a qualifying adjective or in compounds, used to express good or evil deeds. The latter were discussed under *peccata operis.* To denote good deeds, we find: *mid gylpe ætforan Gode his wel-dæda gerime,* ii. 430, 10. *Nis Gode nan neod ure godan dæda, ac hi fremiað us sylfum to ðan ecan life, gif hi buton ydelum gylpe for his lufan beoð gefremode, loc. cit.,* 12-14; *we ne sceolon na wiðmærsian ure wel-dæda,* i. 122, 35; *to wel-dædum gecyrran,* i. 414, 30; *Eallum Godes ðearfum man sceall wel-dæda þenian,* i. 514, 5; *We sceolon on ure wel-dædum blissian,* ii. 532, 6; *Sy wuldor . . . ðam welwyllendan Scyppende ealra . . . his wel-dæda,* ii. 460, 19; etc. Similar in meaning is the expression, *þeah ðe hwa micel to gode gedo* (though anyone do much good), ii. 430, 9.

163. The reward for good or evil deeds is expressed by *geearnung,* earning, desert, merit. Cf. L. *meritum.* The verb *geearnian, mereor,* is also found. Illustrative are: *se Ælmihtiga Scyppend, seðe ælcum men foresceawað lif be his geearnungum,* i. 110, 13; *ðurh martyrdom, oððe þurh oðre halige geearnunga,* i. 354, 1; *he bið Godes bearn . . . ðurh gode geearnunga,* i. 260, 14-16; *Uton forði geearnian þæt ece lif mid Gode þurh ðisne geleafan, and þurh gode geearnunga,* i. 294, 8; *Godes gecorenra wuldor is gemetegod be heora geearnungum,* i. 446, 9; *we sceolon, wylle we nelle we, . . . onfon edlean ealra ura dæda, oððe wununge mid Gode for godum geearnungum, oþþe helle-wite mid deofle for mandædum,* i. 532, 7-10; *mid geearnunge godes weorces,* ii. 124, 26; *"On mines Fæder huse sind fela wununga;" forðan gif sume beoð strengran on geearnungum, . . . þæt heora nan ne beo geælfremod fram ðam micclan huse, þær þær gehwilc onfehð wununge be his geearnungum,* i. 350, 1-6; *mid þære eaþelican gehyrsumnysse þu geearnast heofenan rices myrhðu,* i. 14, 10; *mid yfelum lustum geearnian þa ecan tintrega*

mid eallum deoflum on helle-wite, i. 270, 5; *mid geswince geearnian þæt ece rice, loc. cit.,* 3; etc.

164. The giving of alms (*ælmysse,* L. *eleemosyna*) to the poor was, during Aelfric's time, regarded as a religious duty, and thus it formed a part of the doctrine of good works. The regular construction in Aelfric is "to do, make, or work alms." Later, however, *alms* was applied especially to the gift itself; the idiom, in accordance with present usage, then became "give, bestow, alms." The relationship of alms to fasting, prayer, etc., appears from the excerpts: *Se mann þe fæst buton ælmyssan . . . ac þæt fæsten tælð God,* i. 180, 8-10; *Ðeah se mann hæbbe fullne geleafan, and ælmessan wyrce, and fela to gode gedo, eal him bið ydel, . . . buton he hæbbe soþe lufe to Gode and to eallum cristenum mannum,* i. 528, 29-31; *Ne truwige nan mann de ælmesdædum oððe on gebedum, butan ðære foresædan lufe,* i. 54, 11-13; *swa hwæt swa him Godes frynd on ælmessan forgeafon, þæt he* [Servulus] *dælde forð oðrum ðearfum,* ii. 96, 25; *Of rihtwisum gestreonum man sceal ælmessan dælan,* ii. 102, 9; *Hu mage we urne goldhord on heofonum behydan buton ðurh ælmessan,* ii. 104, 35; *þæt seo ælmysse ure synna lig adwæscte, swa swa hit awriten is, "Swa wæter adwæscð fyr, swa adwæscð seo ælmysse synna,"* ii. 106, 5-7; etc.

165. The religious observance of fasting, often mentioned in connection with the giving of alms, might properly be treated here. The OE. word is *fæsten,* which renders L. *jejunium.* The verb *fæstan* also occurs. Cf. Goth. *fastan,* to adhere to, hold, observe. Many of the expressions for fasting are found in the sermons for Lent, each of the two series containing discourses for the Lenten season (i. 167-192; ii. 99-116, 189-240). The OE. terms are employed to denote the act of fasting and the season appointed for it. Allusions to fasting have been made in the preceding pages. The subject lends itself readily to correlation with other doctrines and religious observances; Aelfric in treating fasting gives directions for observing Lent, and incidentally stresses chastity and moderation. Thus we find: *æfter þæs apostoles tæcunge, on micclum geðylde, and on halgum wæccum, on fæstenum,* i. 178, 32-33; *se gewuna ðæs fæstenes ðurhwunað gehwær on geleaffulre gelaðunge,* i. 244, 27; *þa bysne ðæs fæstenys, loc cit.,* 28; *þa clænan tid Lenctenlices Fæstenes,* ii. 98, 28; *þis feowertigfealde fæsten wæs asteald on þære Ealdan Gecyðnysse,* ii. 100, 1; *Witodlice on eallum tidum gedafenað cristenum mannum, þæt hi gode weorc began, and ælmes-*

dæda, and swa-ðeah swiðost on þisum gemænelicum fæstene, loc. cit., 19-22; *þæt we dægwomlice, on þyssere lenctenlican tide, ure lichaman gereordigan mid forhæfednysse and syfernysse and clænnysse, loc. cit.,* 14-15; *on ðam Lencten-fæstene, and on ælcum ymbrenfæstene,* ii. 608, 21; *On Lenctene sind getealde ealles ðæs geares teoðung-dagas, loc. cit.,* 23; *þæt he flæsces bruce on Lencten-timan, loc. cit.,* 22; etc. The passages quoted illustrate, in the case of *Lencten,* the use of the noun in compounds (Cf. NE. *fast-day*). The adjective *lenctenlic* has, of course, similar force. The form *lenctenlic,* ME. *lenten,* shows that the suffix—*en* in NE. *lenten* is not adjectival, the NE. term being a preservation of the ME. form. Like *fæsten,* and *fæstan,* OE. *lencten* is of Germanic origin; possibly from Gmc. **lang* "long," and **tin* - "day," suggesting the lengthening of the spring day. The primary meaning of the Gmc. term is, however, dubious. In OE., *lencten* means Spring, Lent, the church sense being peculiar to English.

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE STATE

166. Aelfric concludes the *Catholic Homilies* with *De Dedicatione Ecclesiae,* a discourse which treats the church (*gelaðung*), its cleansing through the world fire, and its final state of completed holiness. In harmony with the Christian notion of the perfection of God's kingdom in the world to come, Aelfric regards the destruction of the world by fire as a future event, when the burning will not destroy forever, but will purify and introduce a new and better order of things. Preparatory to the inception of this new order, certain events will take place, such as death, Christ's second coming, the resurrection of the body, and the general judgment. The future condition of men, the righteous and the wicked, will consist of an intermediate and an ultimate state. These events and states form the substance of this chapter.

A. Death

167. Aelfric's treatment of death (*dēaþ*) is in some instances similar to the early conception of death as a messenger of a deity. The Jewish notion, which Christianity retained, is in harmony with this conception. Cf. Luke XVI, 22 (the beggar died and was carried by angels into Abraham's bosom). In Aelfric, death is often used in a personified sense, though in harmony with the older view death as a messenger has no abode. Aelfric admonishes us to be careful that our time escape not from us in vanity, and that we turn to good deeds, when death urges us to departure (*ðonne us se deað to forðsiðe geðreatað*), i. 414, 31. Similarly: *Efne ðaða he ongeat þæt se deað him* [Gregory] *genealæhte,* ii. 96, 34; *oðþæt on ende ure tida bið se feondlica deað færlice toworpen, and se deað siððan us derian ne mæg,* ii. 216, 6; etc. The OE. term *dēað* is of frequent recurrence in a large number of contexts similar to the NE. usage. Thus we find: *"þu scealt deaðe sweltan,"* i. 14, 13; *aras of deaðe,* i. 28, 4; *on deaðe he wæs gesett,* i. 50, 21; etc.

168. The tendency to circumlocution when referring to the mysteries of death, a practice apparent in NE., is already present in the *Catholic Homilies.* Illustrative of this are *forðsīð,* departure

(death); *forðfaran,* to die; *geendian,* to die; *geendung,* death; *rest,* rest (after death); *gewītan,* to die. Thus we find: *ða hellican gastas þe besittað þæs mannes forðsið* [similar in conception to death as a messenger; in this case the spirits of hell beset a man's departure, i.e. death], i. 410, 3; *oðþæt englas eft on eaðelicum forðsiðe hi to Gode feredon,* i. 546, 7; *we beoð gelædde to his rice þærrihte æfter urum forðsiðe,* ii. 80, 18; etc.; *heora abbud wæs þa niwan forðfaren,* ii. 158, 4; *we on ðisum life magon helpan þam forðfarenum þe on witnunge beoð,* ii. 356, 11, 16; etc. *Þa on ðære ylcan tide þe he geendian sceolde,* i. 414, 8; *"þæt hi on eowrum geendungum onfon eow into ecum eardung-stowum,"* i. 334, 29; *ðam feondum heo* [*seo sawol*] *bið betæht on hire geendunge,* i. 410, 29; etc. *Rest,* often used in the sense of 'eternal rest,' sometimes appears in contexts that describe death. Hence, in the passage of Gregory's death, *Efne ða, mid þam þe he hlyste ðæs heofonlican sanges, ða gewat his sawul of ðam geswenctan lichaman to ecere reste,* ii. 98, 6. Other references are: *Crist hi* [*Martha*] *gebrohte to ecere reste on his rice,* ii. 440, 29; *gewat fram woruldlicum ricum,* ii. 508, 9; etc.

169. Eternal death in the sense of estrangement from God occurs frequently in Aelfric. Representative excerpts are: *mancynn alysan fram ðam ecan deaðe mid his hwilwendlicum* (temporary) *deaðe,* i. 214, 34; *Se bið dead ecum deaðe seðe is forestiht* (predestined) *to ðam ecum deaðe,* ii. 232, 32; *Crist mænde ðone ecan deað, to þam ne becumað þa ðe his bebodu healdað; and ða Iudeiscan mændon þisne andweardan deað, ðam ne ætwint nan eorðlic mann* [present and eternal death contrasted], ii. 232, 19-22; etc.

B. The Intermediate State

170. The state of existence of the soul immediately after death is, according to Aelfric, a conscious one, during which different destinies await the chosen and the reprobate. The righteous continue in glory and enjoy the association of saints (ii. 232), while the reprobate suffer punishment for their sins before the advent of the universal doom (ii. 592). Aelfric, with reference to the approach of doom and the advent of Christ, states that our time will not be long, and at our ending (death) it will be adjudged us whether we in rest or in torment shall await the common doom (*hwæðer we on reste oþþe on wite ðone gemænelican dom anbidian sceolon*), i. 618, 33. The death of the righteous is only a change to everlasting life

(*Hwæt is godra manna deað buton awendednys and færr fram deaðe to ðam ecan life?* ii. 232, 22-23).

171. The doctrine of purgatory (*purgatorium*) is apparent from several passages. The clearest account of the purgative fire appears in the *Vision of Drihthelm,* which in the opening lines Aelfric attributes to Bede's *Historia Anglorum.* In this vision an angel escorts Drihthelm to a great burning valley in which the souls of men are punished and cleansed. Drihthelm continues: *Seo dene* (valley) *wæs afylled mid manna sawlum, þa scuton hwiltidum of ðam weallendum fyre into ðam anðræcum cyle, and eft of ðam cyle into ðam fyre, buton ælcere to-forlætennysse,* ii. 350, 10-13. Drihthelm thought that this place was hell, but his guide straightway answered his thought, the angel saying that that punishment was not the hell that Drihthelm supposed, *loc. cit.,* 15. After accompanying Drihthelm to the abyss of hell, the angel explains to him the purport of the great burning valley, which was the penal place where men's souls were punished and cleansed: *He me andwyrde and cwæð, Seo micele byrnende dene, þe ðu ærest gesawe, is witnung-stow* (penal place), *on ðære beoð manna sawla gewitnode and geclænsode,* ii. 352, 19-21.[1] 'Penal fire,' another term relative to purgatory, appears in the *Vision of Furseus,* which is attributed to Bede, who formulated a clearly defined doctrine of purgatory in England. In Aelfric's version of the vision, Furseus and the three angels returned to earth and came again to the penal fire (*to ðam witniendlicum fyre*), ii. 344, 12, in which unrighteous souls were burning. Another expression for the penal fire is 'sharp burning': *to ðam teartum bryne,* ii. 592, 17. Torment, the state of the unrighteous in purgatory, is expressed by *wītnung.* Cf. *wītnung-stōw.* Aelfric observes that we in this life may help the departed, who are in torment (*on witnunge*), ii. 356, 12. The form is also used in the sense of eternal punishment (*to ecere witnunge*), i. 410, 30; etc. According to Aelfric there are many penal places (*fela sind eac witniendlice stowa,* ii. 590, 35), where the souls of men will suffer, according to the degree of their sins, before the universal doom, so that some will be fully cleansed and need not suffer in the everlasting fire.[2]

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[1] Other doctrines are apparent from the context, as penance and good works. Further consideration of the vision of Drihthelm is given in the treatment of hell.

[2] For supplementary material on the Anglo-Saxon purgatory, see E. J.

172. The visions of Furseus and Drihthelm are significant in that they describe the abodes of the blessed. The Vision of Furseus, one of the earliest of English visions, recounts the experiences of the Scottish priest Furseus, whose soul, after a bitter struggle between the celestial angels and the devil and his hosts, was transported by angels to heaven, and there beheld the choirs of angels, and heard the praises of the celestial hosts. Among the holy ones in heaven Furesus saw two venerable priests whom he had known on earth (ii. 342). The *Vision of Drihthelm* is of greater importance, since it is more medieval in character, and clearly defines two intermediate states for the chosen and the reprobate. Purgatory as separate and distinct from hell has already been considered. After having seen the abyss of hell, Drihthelm is led by the angel to the east, and in the serenity of a great light they behold a city, within which is a smooth and broad field, all filled with blowing plants and verdure, and shining with a light brighter than any sun (ii. 352). Within the walls of the city is a vast multitude of men, in great joy. Drihthelm is assured by the angel that the beautiful place is not heaven, but an intermediate state of souls that are not so perfect that they might straightway enter heaven: *þeos wynsume and ðeos blostmbære stow is ðæra sawla wunung ðe on godum weorcum geendodon, and swa-ðeah næron swa fulfremede þæt hi ðærrihte moston into heofenan rice, ac swa-þeah hi ealle becumað to Cristes gesihðe and myrhðe æfter ðam micclan dome,* ii. 352, 31-35. The attitude of the preacher and moralist is obvious. The vision becomes a means of conveying moral precepts. The angel promises Drihthelm the beautiful dwelling which he beheld, *gif ðu wylt ðine dæda and ðeawas gerihtlæcan,* ii. 354. 5.

C. The Last Judgment

173. Owing to the relationship which exists between different doctrines, it is obvious that a discussion of one doctrine will often reveal phases of related doctrines. Thus the final judgment was briefly touched upon in our consideration of the intermediate state.

Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell, with Special Reference to the Middle-English Versions,* Baltimore, Md., 1899. For a recent statement on the subject consult Abbot Butler, "Hell and Purgatory," *What is Hell?* New York, 1930, pp. 33-51. As a general reference for the entire chapter, and illuminating in giving the pagan and to some extent the Christian background, see "Time and World," pp. 790-825; and "Death," pp. 839-855, Vol. II, Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology.*

This section will also include such related events as the second coming of Christ and the common resurrection.

174. The termination of the world is closely associated with doom. Aelfric makes the most of the gospel prophecies which point to the end of the world. In several passages of the *Catholic Homilies* Aelfric warns his readers of the approaching end, the notion being prevalent throughout the Christian countries of Europe that the world would terminate in the year 1000. Heaven and earth will not be destroyed by the fire, but they will be changed into better forms (*to beteran hiwe,* i. 616, 35). In the *Vision of Furseus,* the latter sees four immense fires. The angel tells Furseus that these four fires will consume all the world, and burn the souls of those men who through transgression have made void the confession and promise of their baptism (ii. 338). Each of the fires will punish a specific sin. *Þæt an fyr ontent þæra manna sawla ðe leasunge lufedon; þæt oðer ðara ðe gytsunge filigdon; þæt ðridde þæra þe ceaste and twyrædnysse styredon; þæt feorðe fyr forbærnð þæra manna sawla þe facn and arleasnysse beeodon,* ii. 338, 9-12. Becker, on the basis of the versions of the *Vision of Furseus* that appear in Bede and Aelfric, observes that this is evidently the purgatorial fire of the judgment day, which we find in the Anglo-Saxon poets.[2] This view seems probable, when we recall that the purgatorial fire of the Anglo-Saxon poets differed from that of the Church; the Anglo-Saxon poets described purgatory as beginning and ending on judgment day.[3]

175. To indicate the common, or universal, resurrection the qualifying adjective is employed. Thus we find: *on þæm gemænelicum æriste,* i. 84, 24; *æfter ðam gemænelicum æriste,* i. 116, 29; etc. In describing the universal resurrection, or matters pertaining to it, Aelfric often refers to Christ's resurrection.[4] Where the universality of the resurrection can be inferred from the context, the adjective is omitted, as in NE. The body turns to earth, *and anbidað æristes, and on ðam fyrste nan ðing gefret,* ii. 232, 24-25.

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[2] Becker, *Medieval Visions,* p. 51.

[3] A. S. Cook concludes his list of eight peculiarities of the description of the Day of Judgment (*Elene,* ll. 1277-1321) as follows: "A purgatorial fire, on the Day of Judgment itself, passes into the fire of eternal punishment for the wicked, but merely purifies those who are on the way to perfection, and therefore ceases to be a purgatorial fire on the same day in which it begins." "The Date of the Old English Elene," *Anglia,* Vol. XV (1893), p. 12.

[4] See Par. 128.

The notion of the futurity and eternity of resurrection is occasionally found. *Seo clæne sawul anbidað eac þæs ecan æristes, ac heo wunað on wuldre on ðære hwile mid halgum,* ii. 232, 25-27. The phrase *on ðære hwile* expresses, incidentally, the intermediate state of the chosen. 'Future' resurrection is expressed in *to ðam toweardan æriste,* ii. 518, 12. The universal resurrection will occur at the ending of this world (*on ðissere worulde geendunge,* ii. 70, 2), and Aelfric, quoting Christ, describes the respective destinies of the chosen and the reprobate: *"þa ðe god worhton to lifes æriste, þa soðlice þe yfel worhton to geniðerunge æriste,"* ii. 568, 28-29.

176. The last judgment is expressed in OE. by *dōm,* doom. The form appears separately and in combination with *dæg* to denote the last judgment, or the day of doom. The illustrations given show different qualifying adjectives employed: *hi arisað on þam gemænelicum dome,* i. 84, 22; *se lichama . . . anbidað þæs micclan domes,* i. 218, 24; *be ðan toweardan dome,* ii. 586, 5; *his genealæcendan dom,* i. 608, 14; *on Godes dome,* i. 60, 33; *for ðam micclum brogan þæs gemænan domes,* i. 572, 4; *sceal arisan on domes dæge,* i. 294, 2; *on ðam endenextan dæge* (last day), i. 310, 5; *on ðam micclum dæge,* i. 396, 15; *mid fyrhte þæs uplican domes,* i. 494, 9; *Se witega cwæð, þæt se miccla Godes dæg is swiðe gehende, and þearle swyft,* i. 618, 25; *his strecan domes geswutelað,* i. 578, 34. The term *micel dōm,* cited above, is frequently found in the homilies. "The last vengeance," evidently meaning doom, appears in *on ðære endenextan wrace,* i. 410, 15. The second advent of Christ is, of course, closely associated with doom. Aelfric contrasts Christ the Saviour at his first advent, with Christ the stern Judge at doom: *Ac se ðe on ðam ærran to-cyme liðegode, þam synfullum to gecyrrednysse, se demð stiðne dom* (will deem stern doom) *þam receleasum æt ðam æfteran to-cyme,* i. 320, 16-18. Related to *dōm* is *dēma,* a judge, and *dēman,* to judge, which was cited above. The last judgment is characterized as "the advent of the severe Judge" (*on to-cyme ðæs strecan Deman*), i. 610, 25. Antichrist as a precursor of the final judgment was briefly treated in the chapter on the devil.

D. Salvation and Heaven

177. The final state of the righteous may be described, according to the New Testament conceptions, as a state of holy communion with God. In view of the existence of available literature on the prevailing notions of the ancient Germanic peoples of a future

state, it is hardly within the scope of this study to consider the pagan background in the light of Germanic mythology.[5] Salvation, of Latin derivation, is expressed in Aelfric by *hāl, e*; f., *hālu* (indeclinable), f., and *hālð, e*; f. Instances of *hāl* (*salus, salvatio*) are: *forðan ðe þæt siðfæt ure hæle* (way of our salvation) *is on lofsangum ures Drihtnes,* i. 446, 30; *ure hæl is gehendre þonne we gelyfdon,* i. 602, 1; *to þære ecan hæle,* Skeat 16, 19; *Cristes ðenung is ure hæl and folca alysednys,* ii. 586, 32; etc. The form at times expresses health, healing, happiness: *þurh ðises wætan þigene hrædlice heora hæle* (their health) *brucað,* i. 510, 8; *oft his hæl* (health) *him bið adl* (disease), i. 614, 16; *þurh þæs bæddrydan hæle* (healing), Skeat 10, 50; *se bitt on ðæs Hælendes naman, seðe þæs bitt ðe belimpð to soðre hæle* (to true happiness), ii. 528, 3. The form *hālu* likewise expresses the related notions of salvation, health, and well-being. *"Sy hælu urum Gode"* (Salvation be to our God), i. 538, 23; *far for heora sawla hælu* (go for the salvation of their souls), ii. 344, 1; *Drihten soðlice us sealde hælu þurh ðam earplættum* (gave us salvation through the ear-buffets), ii. 248, 26; *hælu heora lichaman* (health to their bodies), i. 26, 12; *hælu þines lichaman,* ii. 410, 5; *he* [*Drihten*] *blissiað for mancynnes hælu* (rejoices for the well-being of mankind), ii. 400, 17. Similar in meaning is *hælð*: *ealle ða wundra and hælða* (cures), ii. 28, 10; *biddende heora sawla hælðe, and heora freonda* (praying for their own and their friends' souls' health: i.e. spiritual healing), ii. 396, 23-24; *ure lichamana hælðe* (the health of our bodies) *we awendað to leahtrum,* ii. 540, 9; *for manna hælðe* (for the salvation of men), ii. 484, 12; *carful gyt for ure hælðe* (salvation), ii. 526, 32; *Þæra martira deað wæs Godes gecorenum bysn to ecere hælðe* (for eternal salvation), ii. 542, 1; *þeah-hwæðere wyle se goda Læce* [God] *to ecere hælðe* (to everlasting salvation) *hine gelacnigan,* i. 472, 20-21.

178. In a few cases salvation is denoted by *hredding.* Cf. *āhreddan,* to deliver. Thus we find: *us becom eft lif and hredding þurh wimman,* i. 194, 33; *his agen lif syllan for ðæs folces hreddinge,* i. 240, 15; *ungunnon geornlicor for his hreddinge þone Wealdendan God biddan,* i. 534, 27.

179. In addition to the specific terms for salvation, which have been treated above, a large number of terms for the future condition of bliss and the reward of the faithful appears throughout the

[5] Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* contains interesting and suggestive material.

Catholic Homilies. Owing to Aelfric's tendency towards mysticism and symbolism, the exact sense of some of the forms is not always clear. The terms expressing the future state of the righteous not only reflect other doctrines, e.g., that of good works, but also the Anglo-Saxon conception of future happiness.

180. The future state is conceived of as a reward for the deeds of this life. This notion offers an opportunity for contrasting the trials and tribulations of this perishable life with the future bliss of the eternal life. Thus we find *edlēan* and *mēd* in various contexts to denote the future reward. The heathen philosophers, including Socrates, did not follow God, *and forði næfde ða heofenlican edlean mid þam apostolum,* i. 394, 17. Other passages are: *þeos sceorte þrowung nis to wiðmetenne þam ecan edleane* [St. Andrew's words from the cross to the faithful men], i. 596, 28; [*ælc lichama*] *sceal onfon edlean ealra his dæda,* i. 294, 3; *minre earfoðnysse edlean,* i. 382, 22; *on blisse eoweres edleanes,* ii. 128, 12; *þæt edlean on ðam ecan life,* ii. 224, 12; *swa swa se hyrman his edleanes anbidað, swa geanbidað se gastlica cempa his edleanes æt ðam Ælmihtigum Gode,* ii. 454, 32; etc. The form also appears as retribution, punishment: *ðurh rihtwisnysse edlean,* i. 330, 35; *on edleane,* ii. 330, 5. *Mēd* (meed) occurs as follows: *þu ðolast ðære ecan mede,* i. 140, 32; *bið bescyred þære ecan mede,* i. 240, 21; *þa gastlican mede,* i. 398, 5; *eower med on þam ecan edleane,* ii. 128, 5; *þæs ecan lifes mede geearnode,* ii. 124, 33; etc. Aelfric frequently contrasts the eternal with the present or temporary rewards. The latter are illustrated by: *lufað . . . ða ateorigendlican edlean* (perishable rewards), i. 240, 18; *þæt he her hwilwendlice mede underfo* (temporary reward), ii. 534, 31; etc.

181. The goodness, excellence, and glory of the future state are illustrated by the following excerpts: *fram ðam ecum godnyssum,* i. 204, 12; (Cf. *hwilwendlice godnyssa,* i. 252, 24); *ne wana nanre godnysse* [no lack of any goodness in the life eternal], i. 272, 13; *forðan ðe hit* [*þæt halige godspel*] *geendebyrt þa eahta eadignyssa ðe ða halgan to heofonlicum geðincðum gebrohton* (brought the holy to heavenly honors), i. 548, 11; *þonne hi ðurh martyrdom becumað to heofonlicum geðincðum,* i. 574, 30; *þa synfullan geseoð nu hwiltidum ða gecorenan on wuldre* (the chosen in glory), i. 334, 3; *Eft cwæð se ylca apostol* [*Paulus*] *on oðre stowe, "Ne sind na to wiðmetenne ða þrowunga þyssere tide ðam toweardan wuldre,"* i. 486, 26; *swa micclum hi beoð eft on ðam toweardan wuldre gewelgode,*

i. 550, 18; *ne ðurh nanre earfoðnysse þæt ece wuldor mid Criste geearnian?* ii. 284, 31.

182. Terms expressing the joy and happiness of the future state are *gefēa, gesǣlð, ēadignys, bliss, myrhð, wynn.* We desire to be rich, Aelfric states, in His kingdom, in which neither sickness, nor infirmity, nor sadness, nor death has any place, *ac þær is ece gesæld and eadignys, gefea butan ende mid ecan welum,* i. 460, 16-19. Other occurrences are: *þæt he us þurh ða hwilwendlican swingla to ðam ecan gefean gelæde,* i. 476, 20; *to gefean þæs heofonlican eðles,* i. 612, 16, 31; *"to ðines Hlafordes gefean,"* ii. 552, 21; *þæt hi [þa englas] moston ðurh-wunian on ecere gesælde,* i. 112, 1; (Cf. *mid nanre care þære toweardan ungesælðe,* i. 408, 22); *heora naman on ecere eadignysse awrite,* i. 32, 32; *ac seo ehtnyss ana þe bið for rihtwisnysse geðolod becymð to ecere eadignysse,* i. 552, 34; (Cf. i. 548, 10: *þa eahta eadignyssa*: the eight beatitudes, rendering L. *beatus,* happy, blessed); *þæt we us sylfe clæne and ungewemmede him gegearcian, to blisse and to ecere myrhðe,* i. 36, 5; *þæt hi mid earfoðnyssum and mid geswince geearnian þæt ece rice and þa ecan blisse mid Gode,* i. 270, 3; *to heofenan rices myrhðe,* i. 58, 2; *hiht þæs ecan lifes myrhðe,* i. 154, 23; *into his wununge on ecere wynne,* ii. 518, 5; etc.

183. Aelfric's exposition of certain gospel texts, e.g., *"Sum man gearcode micele feorme,"* ii. 370, 34 ff., effects a transferred sense of *feorm,* feast, to indicate the future state of the righteous. Through this transferred sense concrete words assume the abstract notions of a future state with God. This treatment of the abstract notions of a future state no doubt helped the Anglo-Saxons to comprehend more readily the doctrines of a future life, since they had definite notions of terms like *feorm,* feast; *gereord,* feast; *gebēorscipe,* feast; *frēols-tīd,* festival day; *ēstmete,* delicate meat, dainties. Illustrative passages are: *gearcode ðurh his to-cyme us ða ecan feorme on his rice,* ii. 370, 3; (Cf. *ibid.,* 9: *þære feorme tid is seo geendunge þises middangeardes on þære we sind*); *ða men becumað to his ecan gereorde,* ii. 292, 20; *He* [God] *cyð gearwe estmettas þæs ecan gereordes,* ii. 372, 17; *uton biddan ðone Ælmihtigan Drihten, þæt he us gebringe to his ecan gebeorscipe,* ii. 378, 5; *þæt we to ðære ecan frēols-tide becumon,* i. 548, 4. In the life to come we require no earthly food, *forðan ðe we þonne mid þam heofonlicum mettum beoð gereordode* (nourished with heavenly foods), i. 270, 31.

184. In harmony with the New Testament view (Cf. Matt. XXV,

46), the final state of the righteous is described as eternal life. The OE. term is *þæt ēce līf, vita aeterna.* Owing to the medieval conception of the present life as a life of exile, there are frequent comparisons in Aelfric between the present, transitory, and the future, eternal, life. Eternal life means communion with God, while eternal death, as was previously shown, denotes estrangement from God. The following excerpts are representative of a rather full list of recurrences: *þæt ece lif geearnian,* i. 96, 15; *þæt we mid leohte ures geleafan and godum geearnungum to ðam ecum life becuman moton,* ii. 294, 10; *On ðisum twam geswustrum [Martha and Maria] wæron getacnode twa lif, þis geswincfulle ðe we onwuniað, and þæt ece ðe we gewilniað; þæt an lif is wræcful, þæt oðer is eadig; an hwilwendlic, oðer ece,* ii. 440, 1-4. Terms appear with the qualifying adjectives *tōweard,* future; *ūplican,* upper; *heofonlic,* heavenly: *on þam toweardan life,* i. 164, 24; *to ðam heofonlican life,* i. 382, 20; *þæt oðer lif . . . toweard,* i. 612, 27; *for begeate þæs upplican lifes,* ii. 70, 22; *to ðam upplican life,* ii. 356, 12; etc.

185. In accordance with Heb. IV, 9, Aelfric describes the future state of the righteous as *rest,* rest. The form is always used in the *Catholic Homilies* in the qualified sense, 'eternal' rest. Thus we find: *to ecere reste,* i. 140, 21; *to ðære ecan reste,* i. 476, 12; *þæt seo reðe ehtnyss becume ðam rihtwisan to ecere reste,* i. 574, 24; *he [Drihten] underfehð us into ecere reste,* ii. 82, 35; *ða gewat his sawul of ðam geswenctan lichaman to ecere reste,* ii. 98, 6; *to ecere reste on his rice,* ii. 440, 39. Cf. ii. 208, 4: *Oðer resten-dæg is us eac toweard, þæt is, þæt ece lif.*

186. The final abode of the righteous is called heaven, OE. *heofon.*[6] The form is frequently found in Aelfric. The following are representative; other excerpts in various contexts illustrate Aelfric's use of *heofon*: *"Heofon is his þrymsetl, and eorðe is his fot-sceamul,"* i. 262, 4; *Hi [Enoh and Helias] sind genumene to lyftenre heofenan na to rodorlicere,* i. 308, 3; *þurh ure ealdan modor Euan us wearð heofonan rices geat belocen, and eft ðurh Marian hit is us geopenod,* i. 446, 21; *ure æhta sind ece on heofenum,* ii. 398, 32; etc. Compounds and adjectives are: *he [se Halga Gast] dyde þæt eal heofonwaru* (all the inmates of heaven) *wundrode*

[6] The *NED.* states that the ulterior etymology is unknown; the LGmc. **heƀana-, *heƀuna-* was apparently an entirely different word from Goth. *himins,* ON. *himinn,* and OHG. *himil.* For literature see F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache,* Strassburg, 1894. Falk und Torp, *op. cit.,* p. 404.

ðysre fæmnan upfæreldes, i. 442, 35; *infær þæs heofenlican rices,* i. 370, 20; *we habbað heofonlice welan,* ii. 484, 34; etc. The form *ūplic,* lofty, celestial, is used independently and as a modifier to denote heaven, or things pertaining to it. Thus we find: *þæt leoht . . . his* [St. Benedict's] *mod to ðam upplican* [to heaven] *abræd,* ii. 186, 13; *to eðele þæs upplican lifes,* ii. 118, 25; *oðþæt we becumon ðurh gehealdsumnysse Godes beboda to ðam upplican eðele,* (to the realm on high), ii. 200, 24; *on ðam upplican rice is healic sib,* ii. 562, 28; etc.

187. The form *eard,* often used in the sense of country, land, *terra firma,* native land, home, is occasionally used for heaven. *Eard* occurs independently, modified by adjectives, and in compounds: *mid halgum mægnum ðone eard ofgan, þe we þurh leahtras forluron,* i. 118, 33; *seo staðelfæstnyss þæs ecan eardes,* i. 550, 24; *to ðam ecan earde heofenan rices,* ii. 214, 26; *to ðam behatenan earde heofenan rices,* ii. 218, 12; *ðone heofonlican eard,* ii. 222, 11; *into ecum eardung-stowum* (eternal dwelling places), i. 334, 29; *to ðære heofonlican eardung-stowe,* i. 340, 16; etc.

188. OE. *ēðel,* ancestral land or estate, native land, a secular sense familiar to the Anglo-Saxons, is also applied to heaven. Instances of this usage in the *Catholic Homilies* are comparatively frequent. The form is generally modified by a word or phrase, as the following indicate: *þæt we moton gesæliglice to urum eðele becuman,* i. 118, 29; *Nis ðeos woruld na ure eðel, ac is ure wræcsið; forði ne sceole we na besettan urne hiht on þissum swicelum life, ac sceolon efstan mid godum geearnungum to urum eðele, þær we to gesceapene wæron, þæt is to heofenan rice,* i. 162, 16-20; *to eðele þæs uplican lifes,* ii. 118, 25; *anbidigende mid geðylde þæs ecan eðeles,* ii. 200, 21; *he on heofonlicum eðele eardigende wæs, þeah ðe he* [*Benedictus*] *on eorðan ða-gyt wunode,* ii. 186, 21; etc. Of the qualifying words the term *ēce,* eternal, is most frequent.

189. The conception of heaven as a kingdom is expressed by *rīce,* power, kingdom. In the sense of kingdom, we find: *of heofenan rices myrhðe,* i. 12, 3; *to his ecan rice,* i. 84, 1; *astige þæt uplice rice,* i. 344, 13; *infær þæs heofenlican rices,* i. 370, 20; *geond ealle widgylnyssa Godes rices* (through all the immensities of God's kingdom), i. 296, 35; *he gelæcð ðonne ðurh strece þæt heofenlice rice,* i. 360, 9; etc. Aelfric uses *rīce* for the chosen ones: *Hwæt is þæt rice þæt he betæcð his Fæder, buton ða halgan menn, ægðer*

ge weras ge wif, þa þe he alysde fram hellewite mid his agenum deaðe? i. 264, 9-11.

190. Other terms that Aelfric applies to the final abode of the righteous are: *wunung,* dwelling; *hūs,* house; *setl,* see, seat; *botl,* dwelling-place; *æcer,* field; *Hierusalem,* Jerusalem. *Wunung* occurs in the sense of dwelling, habitation, and duration: *on ðære heofonlican wununge* (dwelling), i. 272, 1; *us getiðige wununge* (dwelling) *on his rice to ecum life,* i. 338, 3; *þæt hi Godes wununge* (habitation with God) *mid him habban moton,* i. 600, 20; *þe [seo sawol] sceal eft þurh Godes mihte arisan to ecere wununge* (to everlasting duration), i. 20, 6; *we mid him on ðære ecan wununge* (in the eternal dwelling), ii. 582, 16; *"On mines Fæder huse sind fela wununga"* (mansions), i. 350, 2; etc. Aelfric applies *hūs,* house, to heaven and to Christians: *fram ðam micclan huse,* i. 350, 6; *into ðam clænan huse heofenan rices myrhðe,* ii. 572, 24; *Nu sind we cristene menn Godes hus gehatene, swa swa se apostol Paulus cwæð, "Templum Dei sanctum est, quod estis uos,"* ii. 580, 24-26. The word *setl,* generally applied to the apostolic see (ii. 122, 8; ii. 132, 11), is in rare instances applied to the future abode of the righteous: *[se eadiga Gregorius] gewat to ðam ecan setle heofenan rices,* ii. 132, 21; *[se holda ðeowa] wuldrað mid Gode on ðam heofenlicum setle* (seat), ii. 552, 25. Other expressions are: *heo [Beata Maria] becom orsorhlice to ðam heofonlicum botle* (mansion), i. 446, 18; *siððan to edleanes æcre* (field of reward) *becom,* ii. 96, 13; *to ðære uplican Hierusalem,* ii. 68, 25; *to ðære heofonlican Hierusalem, ibid.,* 29.

191. Paradise, of Latin derivation, appears in OE. as *neorxna-wang.* Wulfila uses *wagg* (2 Cor. XII, 4). The etymology of the OE. term is obscure; Weinhold once suggested *Nornenfeld.*[7] The term is not frequently found in the *Catholic Homilies,* but it is applied both to the earthly and to the celestial paradise: *God þa hine [Adam] gebrohte on neorxna-wange,* i. 12, 32; *buton anum treowe þe stent on middan neorxna-wange, ibid.,* 35; *he [Paulus] wæs gelæd to neorxna-wange, and þær ða gastlican dygelnysse gehyrde*

[7] ". . . angelsächsich findet sich das wunderlice *neorxnavong* für Paradies, das ich einmal (Haupt Z. 6, 461) als Nornenfeld gedeutet habe." Karl Weinhold, *Die Gotische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums,* Halle, 1870, p. 15. Grein adopts a similar view, he suggesting that OE. *neorxan* may possibly be identical with the *Norns,* and *neorxna-wang* with *nympharum pratum.. Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter* (Neuausgabe von Holthausen und Köhler), Heidelberg, 1912. Further attempted explanations of *neorxna-wang* are given in Cook's edition of *The Christ* (Notes to l. 1390).

and geseah, ii. 332, 16; *Ure eard soðlice is neorxna-wang, to ðam we ne magon gecyrran þæs weges ðe we comon,* i. 118, 22.

E. Condemnation and Hell

192. As the antithesis of eternal salvation, Aelfric uses eternal perdition (*ece forwyrd*), ii. 542, 3. A consideration of the semasiology of the simplex *wyrd* from pagan times can hardly be given here; the form has been previously considered in other contexts. Cf. *wyrd-wrīteras,* historians. To denote the future perdition of the reprobate the adjective *ēce* is generally employed: *fram ðam ecum forwyrde,* i. 68, 10; *þæt ece forwyrd,* i. 598, 9; *þurh his ðwyrlican ðeawas to forwyrde,* i. 514, 29; *heora yrfenuman him sylfum to forwyrde* [dissolution: physical death] *forestæppað,* ii. 124, 19. The latter usage is rare; other passages could be quoted for the former.

193. For condemnation Aelfric uses the native term *geniðerung.* Cf. *geniðerian, condemnare, damnare.* Several instances are found: *ðæs rican uncyst and up-afednys wæs his geniðerung,* i. 330, 19; *gif hi oncneowon ða geniðerunge þe him onsihð,* i. 408, 8; *seo swearte niht þære ecan geniðerunge,* i. 530, 23; *"to geniðerunge æriste,"* ii. 568, 29; *þe mid langsumere genyðerunge to marmstan-gedelfe gesette wæron* [earthly punishment], i. 560, 33; *mid his upstige is adylegod þæt cyrographun ure geniðerunge,* i. 300, 5. The form *cyrographum* (writ), which is rare, is obviously of Greek origin. Aelfric rarely uses *sē fordēmda,* the condemned. Cf. *dēman,* to judge. *Se fordemda þonne þrowað on þam yttrum þeostrum neadunge,* i. 530, 24. Related material on reprobation and election has been previously considered (Par. 123).

194. The final place of punishment of the wicked is OE. *hel(l)*, from Gmc. **halja,* st. f., 'the coverer up or hider.' The sources for the Anglo-Saxon conception of hell are found in the Bible and Christian tradition, and in Germanic mythology.[8] *Hel,* in ON. the name of a goddess of the infernal regions, came to be applied to the abode of the departed spirits. With the introduction of Christianity, new conceptions became associated with the term *hel(l)*, which

[8] Cf. "The Anglo-Saxon Hell," E. J. Becker, *Medieval Visions,* pp. 54-69. A. Keiser shows the relationship of the term *hel(l)* to the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew: *The Influence of Christianity On the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry,* pp. 128-131. For the pagan and to some extent the Christian background, see "Time and World," *Grimm's Teutonic Mythology,* Vol. II, pp. 790-825. For a recent statement of the Christian viewpoint consult Abbot Butler, "Hell and Purgatory," *What is Hell?* New York, 1930, pp. 33-51.

was retained. The notion of torment and punishment is generally expressed by compounds and terms other than *hel(l)*. Especially important is *wīte* (punishment), a word that occurs in certain compounds. Cf. OE. *hellewīte, supplicium inferni*; OHG. *hellawizi*; OS. *helliwīti*; Swed. *helvete*; Dan. *helvede*. The Dan. and Swed. terms have the same sense as NE. hell.

195. The OE. terms pertaining to hell are in the main those that describe the nature, place, and torments of hell. Thus we find: *into ðam yttrum ðeostrum,* i. 130, 29; *on ecum fyre,* i. 132, 16; *on ðam bradan fire,* i. 132, 25; *on hellewite on ecum fyre,* i. 174, 2; *on ðam hellican lige,* i. 530, 30; *ðu ceaf, ecum ontendnyssum gegearcod,* i. 594, 7; *seo fæstnung ðære hellican clysinge,* i. 332, 20; *to hellicum clysungum,* i. 414, 11; *to grimre helle,* ii. 516, 10; *to ecum wite,* i. 574, 25; *to helle-wite,* i. 162, 25; *ðæra wiðercorenra wite,* i. 332, 29; *he is to ecum witum geniðerod,* i. 382, 3; *þæt hwilwendlice wite* (transient punishment), i. 576, 2; *þu soðlice miht ætberstan þam ecum cwylmingum þe ðe synd gemynte,* i. 594, 22; *on anre susle,* i. 132, 20; *on ecere susle,* i. 236, 34; *on cwyc-susle,* i. 328, 26; *on ðære hellican susle,* i. 410, 32; *on helle-susle,* i. 554, 4; *into ecere cwic-suslum,* ii. 312, 26; *to ðam ecan pinungum,* i. 164, 12; *ða hellican pinunge,* i. 448, 6; *fram þære ecan blisse ascofen beo into ecum þeostrum,* i. 528, 26; *on niwelnysse,* i. 464, 23; *on þære deopan nywelnysse,* i. 174, 25; *þæt he us fram hellicum nyrwette alysde,* i. 34, 32.

196. This list of terms from the *Catholic Homilies* illustrates the chief features of the Anglo-Saxon hell. The Anglo-Saxon poets, especially Cynewulf and his school, and the homilists, whose descriptions of hell were very similar to those of the poets, were, as we should expect, more indebted for their conceptions to the church fathers than to the surviving traditions of Germanic mythology.[9] The homilies contain connected accounts, in contrast to the somewhat fragmentary descriptions of the poets, and Becker observes that the use of the visions by the homilists was a practical device for the inculcation of moral precepts. Thus Bede and Aelfric handle the same visions differently: "We need only to compare the manner of Bede's narration of the visions of Furseus and Drihthelm with that of Aelfric, when recounting the same visions, in order at once to recognize in the one the historian, to whom the fact is

[9] Becker, *Medieval Visions,* p. 64.

everything, and in the other the preacher, to whom it is merely a vehicle for moral precept.'"[10] Relative to hell and purgatory Aelfric describes two fires, one penal, the other purgative; hell and purgatory are places of intense heat and cold. Cf. i. 132; ii. 350; i. 530.

LIST OF LOAN WORDS AND HYBRIDS

The following loan words and hybrids appear in doctrinal contexts. These words are also listed in the General Index.

Loan Words	*Hybrids*
ælmysse, L. eleemosyna	ælmesdǣd
bisceop, L. episcopus	
	ceastergewaran, npm. (L. castra)
	cyrc-bræce (Gr. κυριακός)
Crīst, L. Christus	
Antecrīst, L. Antichristus	
cyrographum, Gr. χείρ + γράφειν	
dēofol, L. diabolus	dēofolgyld
draca, L. draco	
drȳ, Celt. drūi(?)	drȳcræft
engel, L. angelus	heah-engel
Hierusalem, Gr. Ἱερουσαλήμ	
	martyrdōm (Gr. μάρτυς)
Paraclitus, L.	
scrift, L. scriptum	
tempel, L. templum	

[10] Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

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